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LA BATAILLE DE TRENTE

A MIDDLE-FRENCH POEM OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF ARTS AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES)

BY

HENRY RAYMOND BRUSH

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Combat des Trente

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PREFATORY NOTE

The following dissertation had its inception some three years ago in an investigation of the French historical poetry relating to the Hundred Years' War. The original intention was to secure a bibliography and classification of this material, with the idea that such a work might prove useful, not only to the student of the literature of the period, but to the historical investigator as well. It was also the purpose to publish such short poems as might either be unprinted or be of difficult access to the general student.

The rapid accumulation of material very soon made it evident that for the purpose of a dissertation some one work of importance must be chosen and the remainder left for a more extended investigation than would be possible in a work rather narrowly circumscribed. My reasons for choosing the *Bataille des Trente* are (1) its importance as one of the very latest compositions in the *chanson de geste* style; (2) the fact that it had never been studied with reference to historical or philological points; (3) its date, authorship, and the place of composition were merely a matter of conjecture; (4) although it had been published several times from one MS, the text was incomplete and had gaps which another, and better, MS enable us to fill.

It is a pleasure gratefully to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement I have received from those who have been in touch with the investigation from the start. To them I owe many valuable hints and corrections, but they are in no way responsible for any errors which may be found. My especial thanks are due to Professor T. A. Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, who first brought the subject of historical poetry to my notice and whose sound criticism, particularly in the matter of phonology and versification, has been invaluable. I owe a similar obligation to Professors W. A. Nitze, Karl Pietsch, and P. S. Allen, of the same university, for many useful comments. For practical points in securing information I am indebted to Professor C. C. Marden, of Johns Hopkins University,

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and Professor F. M. Warren, of Yale University. Thanks are also due to the authorities of the Newberry Library of Chicago and those of the libraries of Harvard and Yale universities for the books and facilities placed at my disposal. Last, and by no means least, the aid and counsel of Professor John M. Manly, the editor of *Modern Philology*, have been a valuable assistance.

H. R. BRUSH

LA BATAILLE DE TRENTE ANGLOIS ET DE TRENTE BRETONS[1]

I. HISTORICAL

In an interesting passage of his *Chronicles*,[2] Froissart calls attention to the popular historical poetry relating to the conflict in Brittany between the factions of Charles de Blois and Jean de Montfort, a struggle which lasted from the death of Duke Jean III (April 30, 1341) to the battle of Auray (September 29, 1364).[3] Probably no period of the Hundred Years' War was so full of romantic incidents and dramatic situations well adapted to stir the mind of the popular poet, as this combined civil and international strife. While the long contest between France and England had from the very first its semi-apocryphal record in poetry of various kinds, ranging from the dignified compositions of writers like Deschamps[4] to the coarse expressions of vulgar superstitions and racial hatred of unnamed authorship,[5] probably the longest of these compositions relate to the Breton wars of which the battle of the Thirty was an incident.

However, if Froissart recognizes the existence of this poetry, in the passage referred to, he expresses himself in plain terms as to its unreliability and tells us that in order to obtain the truth,

> ai ge allé et cherchiet le plus grant partie de Bretaigne, et enquis et demandé as seigneurs et as hiraux les gerrez, les prises, les assaux, les envaiës, les bataillez, les rescousses et *tous les biaux fès d'armes* qui y sont avenut;

and further, that he did so,

> à la requeste de mes diz seigneurs et à ses frais.

[1] In the MSS the poem is called *La Bataille de Trente Anglois et de Trente Bretons;* other editors, however, have styled it *Le Combat des Trente* by which term it is frequently referred to.

[2] Froissart, ed. S. Luce, Paris, 1870, II, 265.

[3] This contest, due to the rival claims of Jean de Montfort and Jeanne de Penthièvre, wife of Charles de Blois, belongs to the domain of history and need not be considered here. The most exhaustive treatment is that of A. de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1906, III, 411 ff.

[4] Cf. *Ballade sur la mort de Bertrand du Guesclin*, pub. by Leroux de Lincy in *Chants hist. franç.*, 1841, I, 258, and *Ballade sur la trève faite avec l'Angleterre, ibid.*, p. 273.

[5] E.g., Leroux de Lincy, "Vaux-de-Vire du temps de l'occupation des Anglais," *op. cit.*, pp. 300 ff. The very considerable mass of poetry of this kind has never been published in entirety or treated as a whole. The editor of this text is now collecting the material for a bibliography of the subject and expects to publish it in due time.

Consequently, we are compelled to consider Froissart's criticism both in the light of his trip to Brittany, which extended from April, 1366, to January, 1367,[1] and also in that of the motives which influenced him and may have affected the accuracy of his statements. From his account we gather that there were many compositions of the popular sort and that the jongleurs had greatly departed from the truth.[2] Froissart's criticism has been referred to in this connection.[3] But apparently it has not been considered important to note what Froissart himself states a little farther on in the same passage, namely, that his original was Jehan le Bel and that a large portion of the account of the wars in Brittany is almost a literal transcription of the latter's work. As a matter of authority we must turn at once to Jehan le Bel and if Froissart copies him, we must remember that the first redaction of Book I (which contains the wars in Brittany) was written between 1376 and 1380 at the instigation of Gui de Blois[4] and that Froissart never is consciously unjust to the English side. As for Jehan le Bel, with whom we are directly concerned, we have also to remember that he gained his information by inquiry and hearsay from a distance and never, so far as we know, visited Brittany as did Froissart.[5] He twice speaks of the poetical literature, once in terms of a single book or *livre rimé* and again in the plural, indicating that he consulted several. I quote his words:

Je ne sçay pas dire toutes les aventures qui leur sourvindrent, car je n'y fus pas, et ceulx qui m'en ont raconté m'en dit en tant de diverses manières que je m'en sçay à quoy tenir de la verité. J'ay trouvé en ung livre rimé, que ung jongleur a fait, tant de bourdes et de menteries que je ne les oseroie dire. Si me tairay, affin que je n'en soye repris de mensonge; et se j'en escris plus avant ou mains qu'il n'en fut, si me soit pardonné car *je ne fus pas partout où les aventures avindrent.*[6]

and again:

[1] Cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1870, I, Part I, 151–55.

[2] "Pluiseur gongleour et enchanteour en place ont chanté et rimet lez guerrez de Bretagne et corromput, par leurs chançons et rimes controuvées, le juste et vraie histoire, etc.," Froissart, ed. S. Luce, II, p. 265.

[3] Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, Part I, p. 1087.

[4] Cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, Part II, p. 35.

[5] "Et pour chascun mielx infourmer comment tous ces maulx avindrent j'en conteray une partie ainsy que je le sçay et que j'en ay enquis et ouy dire à ceulx qui ont esté *où je n'ay mie esté.*"—Jehan le Bel, ed. Polain, Bruxelles, 1863, I, 226.

[6] *Op. cit.*, II, 11 (Jehan le Bel is referring to events of 1343).

Je ne m'ose plus avant entremettre de conter comment ces deux grandes assemblées se departirent ne quelles aventures il y eut, car *je n'y fus pas mye*, et jasoit que je treuve en ces romans rimés dont j'ay parlé cy dessus biacop de choses, neantmoins, pour ce qu'elles sont plus plaines de mensonge que de verité, je ne les ose dire.[1]

These references indicate the existence of a body of popular poetry relating to current events. The amount of this poetry was probably much larger than what has been preserved and the compositions were unreliable historically, as would be expected.

The most famous of the *fès d'armes* of which Froissart speaks is no doubt the *Bataille de Trente*, a bitterly contested duel by agreement between thirty Bretons headed by Jean de Beaumanoir, representing the party of Charles de Blois, and thirty combined English, Germans, and Bretons under the leadership of Richard Brambro, captain of Ploërmel, for the party of Edward III and Jean de Montfort. The most probable cause of the combat was the mistreatment of the peasants by the English commander, who extorted everything possible from them by imprisonment and even bodily torture.[2] Jean de Beaumanoir, the captain of Josselin, remonstrated with Brambro and was so discourteously treated that he challenged the latter to fight the matter out with an equal number on each side.[3] As a result the English were defeated and made prisoners and Brambro was killed. This victory, coming only five years after the disastrous day at Crécy,[4] was one of the bright spots for the French in the midst of a long list of calamities and was celebrated by them in the poem with which we are concerned. It was also celebrated in the chronicles, whereas the English, with comprehensible reticence, fail to make mention of it in their records. For a long time it

[1] *Op. cit.*, II, 18. He is speaking of the armies of Edward III and of the Duke of Normandy.

[2] Bretagne suffered greatly from this sort of treatment; cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, pp. 509 and 511. It was out of such soldiery that the great companies were formed under the leadership of men like Calverley, Knolles, and Hawkwood, who made their names a terror even into Italy. (Further, cf. E. de Fréville, "Des grandes compagnies au XIV^{e} siècle," *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, 1ère sér., III, 258-81 and V, 232–53.)

[3] There are a number of instances of this kind of combat in the Hundred Years' War. Cf. the combat between seven French and seven English in 1402, commemorated by a ballad of Christine de Pizan (Leroux de Lincy, *op. cit.*, II, 287); that of fifteen French and fifteen English at Nantes in 1382 (cf. *La Chronique du Loys de Bourbon*, ed. Chazaud, Paris, 1876, pp. 127–29); of five English and five French at Vannes in 1382 (*ibid.*, pp. 130–32); of ten Bretons and ten Germans at Rome in 1377 (cf. D. Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Guingamp, 1835, V, 148).

[4] The date of the battle of the Thirty was March 27, 1351.

does not seem to have been known through any work of earlier date than the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul* of 1470,[1] and this circumstance gave rise to disputes as to its authenticity.[2] In later years various accounts of the *Bataille* have been discovered which put an end to any doubt in the matter. The earliest historical version is that of Jehan le Bel which was written before 1357;[3] then follow the mention by Jean de Venette, the continuator of the work of Guillaume de Nangis, written between 1360 and 1368;[4] by the author of the *Chronique Normande du XIV^e Siècle*, written 1369–72;[5] by Froissart in the first redaction of Book I of the *Chronicles*, written after 1376;[6] and in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*.[7] There is also a mention by Christine de Pizan in her Life of Charles V, composed in 1403.[8] These contemporary records leave no doubt that the combat actually occurred. Froissart even tells us that he saw one of the combatants, Yvain Charruel, at a banquet of the king of France (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, V, 295).

The question remains as to whether any of these chroniclers ever saw a version of our poem and whether it was one of the productions criticized by Jehan le Bel and Froissart. There is nothing in the accounts given by Jean de Venette, by the author of the *Chronique Normande*, or by that of the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* to show that they knew the poem; their accounts consist only of a few lines each.

By far the most extensive accounts of the combat are that of Jehan le Bel and the three versions of Froissart.[9] The version of Jehan le

[1] Still unpublished: MS Arsenal 3912 (263 H.F.), fol. 111.

[2] Cf. Daru, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1826, II, 112 n.

[3] Cf. *Chronique de Jehan le Bel*, I, Introduction, p. xxxvi.

[4] "Et sicut in Plamelis ubi triginta de parte Gallicorum contra triginta de Anglicorum insimul concorditur pugnaverunt, ubi pars Anglicorum devicta est."—Ed. d'Achéry, Spicilegium, Parisiis, 1723, III, p. 106. For the date of the Chronicle, cf. H. Géraud, "Guillaume de Nangis et ses continuateurs," *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, 1ère sér., III, 17 ff.

[5] Ed. A. et E. Molinier, Paris, 1882, p. 101. For date of composition, cf. Introduction, p. xxv.

[6] Cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, Part I, p. 36.

[7] Ed. S. Luce, Soc. de l'histoire de France, 1862, p. 20.

[8] Ed. Abbé le Bœuf, 1742, Book II, chap. 26, quoted by De Courcy, *Le Combat des Trente*, St. Pol de Leon, 1857, p. 17.

[9] I.e., in the first redaction of Book I (ed. K. de Lettenhove, V, 289 f.); in the third redaction of Book I, written 1400–1404 (*op. cit.*, V, 291 f.); and in the *Chroniques abrégées*, written 1404–10 (*op. cit.*, XVII, 281 f.). For discussion of dates, cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, part II, pp. 168 ff.

Bel shows some discrepancies when compared with that of the poem. Jean de Beaumanoir is styled Robert de Beaumont; nothing is said of the oppression of the peasants and Beaumont (Beaumanoir) makes his challenge to fight for the honor of their *dames* whom Brambro calls *amyes;* Brambro is *ung souldoyer d'Alemaigne qu'on appeloit Brandebourch;* the day of the combat is Wednesday; the sixty are represented as meeting and conversing before the battle began. On the other hand it is equally true that there are expressions in Jehan le Bel's account which strikingly recall certain lines of the poem. Beaumont (Beaumanoir) asks the English leader if he has "nulz compaignons ou deux ou trois" who will respond to challenge (cf. D 110,[1] *ou trois ou cinq ou six,* etc.); Brambro says "je vous diray que nous ferons, s'il vous plaist" (cf. B67, *or le faison, Bomcbourc, s'il vous plaist, sagement);* and "aussy, fait Brandebourch, le jure-je" (cf. B72, "*Sire,*" *ce dit Bourcbourc,* "*et je le vous fiant*"). We may also compare "Ainsy fut ceste besogne acordée" with D107, B73, *Ainsin fust* (*fu*) *la bataille,* etc.; "chascun des soixante se pourvei d'armeures ainsy qu'il poent" with D111, *Sans election d'armes, ainsin se combatroient, en guise et maniere que chascun le vouldroint;* also "Quant le jour fut venu les trente compaignons Brandebourch ouïrent messe" with D225, *Quant le temps fust passé et le jour fust venu;* and D223, *il fist dire des messes par grant devocions;* also "si les convint reposer par acord, l'ung d'une part et l'aultre d'aultre" with B313–14, *Et toux par ordenance firent petticion, d'aller toux querre à boire à nulle arrestezon.* Jehan le Bel also mentions the fact that the English were finally routed by a Frenchman mounted on horseback, but he does not speak of Montauban by name. Lastly, he indicates one of his sources at least as being among the participators in the combat, e.g., *ainsy l'ay-je ouï raconter à ceulx qui y furent.*

The three accounts that Froissart gives in the redactions above mentioned are practically repetitions of the account of Jehan le Bel with some additions, of which two are worthy of notice. Beginning his account with the same sentence as Jehan le Bel, he adds the following, *mès le doit-on mettre avant pour tous bacelers encorragier* (cf. B2). Again, in the third redaction (*op. cit.,* p. 294) he adds the following to his previous version, "Vous poés bien croire qu'il firent

[1] D refers to the Didot MS of the poem; B to the Bigot MS.

entre yaus mainte belle apertise d'armes, gens pour gens, corps à corps, et main à main; *on n'avoit point en devant, passet avoit C ans, oy recorder la cose pareille*" with which we compare—

Sy s'esbatront souvent gentilz hons et clarjons
De cy jusqu à cent ans, pour vray en leurs maisons.—B12 (also D12).

Did Jehan le Bel have our poem before him at the time he wrote his account of the event? We think probably not, but it seems likely that he had seen it in some form or heard a portion of it recited. The outline of the story is the same in the poem and in his account, the verbal coincidences are sufficiently numerous to attract attention, and the lack of more exact parallels can be explained as due to the great condensation in the chronicle. The discrepancies can be explained by Jehan's preference for hearsay evidence rather than the testimony of a *livre rimé*, and it is not astonishing that he fails to mention the poem since others who have used it have done the same.[1] The substitution of Beaumont for Beaumanoir is probably an attempt to reflect glory on Jehan le Bel's patron, the sire de Beaumont, for whom the author wrote his chronicle;[2] the name Brandebourch and the statement that he was a German is also comprehensible;[3] and as the two leaders represented the warring duchesses, we can appreciate Jehan's readiness to assign this cause for the battle in place of an act of humanity not quite so much in accord with the spirit of the fourteenth century.

There is nothing in Froissart's first account to indicate that he had seen more than the narrative of Jehan le Bel, but the addition quoted from the third redaction seems to indicate that he knew of the poem by that time. He had also had opportunity to get testimony from those present in the combat, for he mentions Yvain Charruel by name. Even then, his account contains inaccuracies.[4]

The poem was also the source of the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul*, already mentioned; it was used by D'Argentré in his account;[5]

[1] The *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul* bears evidence in every line of being a copy of the poem; not only hemistichs, but in one case a whole couplet with rimes is incorporated. Yet no credit is given to the poem.

[2] Cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, I, Part I, p. 5.

[3] Cf. Introduction II, under Brambro.

[4] E.g., his inclusion of Enguerrand d'Endin and Hues de Raincevaus in the list of combatants.

[5] "I'ay veu un tres-ancien livre, traitant de ce combat, fait en mauvaise rithme, dès le mesme temps, comme il est à croire."—D'Argentré, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1588, p. 300.

by Dom Lobineau,[1] by Dom Morice,[2] and all investigations so fa made in the light of modern research go to confirm its historical accuracy. The event which it celebrates was one held dear by the Bretons and handed down from century to century. A plot of ground near My-voie, half-way from Josselin to Ploërmel, which was the scene of the combat, is still called the "Champ aux Anglais,"[3] for here, according to legend, the dead of Brambro's party were buried. As late as the early nineteenth century the popular poets were still composing lays telling of the victory won from the English.[4]

II. THE COMBATANTS

The names of the antagonists in the *Bataille de Trente* vary in the two MSS and also in the various chronicles of Brittany. Those of the Bretons remain fairly constant and the historians seem to be in substantial agreement, which is probably due to the fact that the knights all belonged to well-known Breton families. On the other hand, the members of the English party were for the most part foreigners, and their names were consequently subject to misunderstanding and corruption. They were also mostly of inferior rank, common soldiers of adventure, known in many cases by the first name and a characteristic epithet. The scribe of B seems to have been more familiar with English names, for he does not mangle them out of recognizable shape as does the scribe of D; but he makes some mistakes in the rendering of the Breton names with which he is evidently unfamiliar. Though B and D give evidence of being copied from different MSS, the ultimate source must have been the same, as the names occur in precisely the same order and are the same in number if we accept the reading *Le Fonstenais* in D159 instead of the plural. Lists of the combatants occur in the works of D'Argentré, Lobineau, Morice, and in the unpublished *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul*, of 1473.[5] In

[1] Dom Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Paris, 1707, I, 343.

[2] Dom Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Guingamp, 1835.

[3] De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[4] Th. Hersart de Villemarqué, *Barzas Breiz*, 6th ed., Paris, 1867, pp. 193 f., for poem "Stourm ann Tregont."

[5] This I have consulted in the portion quoted by De Courcy, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–26. The work of Alain Bouchard (*Les grandes chroniques de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1887, pub. by Maignien in *Publications de la société des bibliophiles bretons*, and in 5 editions, 1514–41) does not contain a mention of the *Bataille*. I have not been able to consult the work of Pierre le Baud (first composed about 1480; cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n.). D'Argentré, however, mentions his acquaintance with the work.

the last-mentioned work the names agree almost exactly with those in the poem and occur in the same order, with but two exceptions. Lobineau and Morice practically agree with each other, but D'Argentré omits some names and substitutes others. D and B enumerate 30 Bretons, including Beaumanoir; Lobineau, Morice, and Jean de St. Paul give 31, while D'Argentré increases the list to 32. In regard to *Le Fontenais* he remarks that some include "deux frères de la maison de Fontenais."[1] The last four chroniclers mention a *Messire Huon de St. Yvon* after *Robin Raguenel.* The line in D, mentioning Raguenel reads,

Et Robin Raganel, ou nom de Saintt Symon (145),

while in B we have

Et Robin Raguenel, en non de Saint Y[v]on (106).

It seems probable that the chroniclers are in error here. Jehan le Bel mentions only Beaumanoir by name; he is followed by Froissart who, however, in another passage, speaks of Yvain Charruel and two others, not elsewhere mentioned, Enguerrant d'Endin, "un bon chevalier de Picardie" and "un bon escuyer," Hues de Raincevaus. The following brief summary of references regarding the knights is taken in part from De Courcy who traces the genealogies.

The Bretons

1. *Jean de Beaumanoir*, the Breton leader, is a well-known figure in history, his name occurring frequently.[2] We find him at the battle of Mauron in 1352; as one of the ambassadors sent the same year to England to treat for the ransom of Charles de Blois; as governor of Brittany in 1357 when, by convention, the Duke of Lancaster gave him the keys of Rennes; as one of the hostages of the treaty of Evran in 1363; as a prisoner at Auray where Blois was killed in 1364, and as representing the widow at the treaty of Guérande in 1365. He died 1365–66. His will is preserved in MS Bib. Nat. 5842.[3]

2. (Le sire de) *Tinténiac*, or *Tintiniac* as D'Argentré and Lobineau call him, was seigneur also of Bécherel and Romillé in Normandy.

[1] Cf. D'Argentré, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[2] Cf. Index to Vol. II of Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, s. nom., *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 193, 214, 331–34; and by Froissart (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, Index, Vol. XX). Cf. also De Courcy, p. 27 and Levot, *Biog. Bret.* (1852), I, 69–71.

[3] Cf. *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, LVII (1896), p. 190.

He was killed at the battle of Mauron in 1352. According to De Courcy (p. 28) his granddaughter was the second wife of Bertrand du Guesclin; a later member of the family was Gaspard de Coligny, killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew (cf. also Levot, *Biog. Bret.*, 1857, II, 899).

3. *Guy de Rochefort*, called by De Courcy the seigneur de Harleix to distinguish him from his nephew, Guy de Rochefort, seigneur d'Asserac, is mentioned in a document received some months later (July, 1351) at Dinan by Thibaut de Rochefort, his cousin germain. In the same document are mentioned Caro de Bodégat and Hugues Catus.[1] In 1354 he took the château of Nantes from the English (D'Argentré, p. 303); and his name occurs in a document of Vitré in 1356, after which he is lost to history (cf. De Courcy, p. 29 and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 737).

4. *Charruel*, called *Yves*, *Yvain* or *Even*, seigneur of Guérand. He aided in 1342 in the defense of Rennes, was sent in 1352 to England to aid in the ransom of Charles de Blois, was chosen in 1357 to negotiate the prolongation of the truce concluded at Bordeaux, distinguished himself at the battle of Cocherel in Normandy in 1364 (cf. D'Argentré, Book V, chap. xl), and is cited in 1369 in the quality of commissioner to receive at Vitré the *montres* of men at arms, after which his name disappears.[2] Froissart (ed. K. de Lettenhove, XVII, 284) tells of seeing him at a banquet, and he is mentioned four times in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* (*op. cit.*, pp. 137, 140, 145, 159). Further, see Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 300–301.

5. *Robin Raguenel*, seigneur of Châteauloger, was the son of the counsellor of the dukes Jean II, Arthur II, and Jean III. Dom Morice (*Preuves*, I, col. 1479) gives a discharge of 1352, sealed with his arms. A daughter, Tiphaine, was the first wife of Bertrand du Guesclin.[3]

6. *Caro de Bodégat*, seigneur de Bodégat, is cited only in the poem and in the document of July 1, 1351, already mentioned in connection with Gui de Rochefort. None of his descendants are known.[4]

[1] In view of the fact that neither D'Argentré, Morice, or Lobineau include Catus in the list of combatants, this document is important as circumstantially confirming the testimony of the poem.

[2] Cf. De Courcy, p. 30.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33, and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 677.

[4] Cf. De Courcy, p. 34.

7. *Guillaume de la Marche.* According to De Courcy (p. 31), there seems to be some uncertainty regarding the family of this knight. His arms are given by D. Morice (*Preuves*, I, cols. 1482–83) from discharges dated August 11, 1352, and he was killed three days later at Mauron with the sire de Tinténiac, as the poem of Guillaume de St. André recalls.[1]

8. *Olivier Arrel*, seigneur of Kermarquer, accompanied Blois to the siege of La Roche Derrien in 1347, but not much else is known of him.[2]

9. *Jehan Rousselet* or *Rousselot*, according to De Courcy (p. 38), was a nephew of Raoul, bishop of St. Malo in 1310, of Laon in 1323.[3]

10. *Geffroi du Bois* is found in a *montre* of Jean de Beaumanoir, of June 22, 1351, in which figure also Alain de Keranrais, Louis Gouëon, Olivier de Fontenay, and Tristan de Pestivien and likewise with the same in a *montre* of October 10, 1351, from which time on he disappears. De Courcy says that it is impossible to state to which of the twelve Breton families of that name he belonged. It will be noted that in D384 he calls Beaumanoir his "cousin germain" (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 569).

11. *Guillaume de Montauban*, who decided the fate of the battle, was present at Mauron, August 14, 1352. De Courcy (p. 39) gives his ancestry and states that he died unmarried and childless (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 486).

12. *Alain de Tinténiac* is mentioned as accompanying Charles de Blois to the siege of Quimper in 1344[4] and was still living in 1356, as attested by a discharge cited by D. Morice (*Preuves*, I, col. 1506; cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 899).

13. *Tristan de Pestivien* was a younger brother of Jean, baron de Pestivien and appears later in *montres* of June 22 and October 11, 1351 (cf. De Courcy, p. 41, and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 594–95).

14, 15. *Alain* and *Olivier de Keranrais.* The uncle is not mentioned later but Alain is found in *montres* of June 22 and August 30, 1351. De Courcy (p. 52) gives the later history of the family, which became extinct after 1550 (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 7–8).

[1] *Livre du bon duc Jehan*, par G. de St. André, ed. Charrière, 1835, ll. 487 ff.

[2] Cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 36–37.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 787–88.

[4] *Enquête pour la canonisation de Charles de Blois en* 1371 (Dom Morice, *Preuves*, II, col. 28, quoted by De Courcy, p. 40).

16. *Louys Gouyon, Goyon* or *Gouëon* was a younger son of Etienne, seigneur de Matignon, and appears in *montres* of June 22 and August 30, 1351, already cited, as well as in a discharge signed with his arms and dated July 9, 1351. De Courcy (p. 43) says that his family was later connected by marriage with that of Chateaubriand's mother (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 826–27).

17. (*Olivier*) *de Fontenay* is mentioned in the *montre* of August 30, 1351, with the four companions—Du Bois, Pestivien, Keranrais, and Gouëon—from whom he appears inseparable. According to De Courcy (p. 44) the name comes from a manor near Rennes. There is a question whether another of the name was also a participator in the *Bataille;* D apparently so indicates, but B speaks of only one as does the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul.* Lobineau and Dom Morice say positively, "les deux Fontenais," while D'Argentré quotes the fact on hearsay (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 709).

18. *Huet, Hauguet* or *Hugues Catus,* seigneur of Breuil in Bas-Poitou, is descended from a family mentioned as early as 1185. His name is found in the *montre* of July 1, 1351, with Rochefort and Bodégat.[1] The *Chronique de St. Paul* speaks of him, but he is not included in the lists of the Breton historians (cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 267).

19. *Geffroi de la Roche,* to whose grandfather the poem refers (cf. note to D163–B122), is not mentioned in later records and De Courcy is unable to establish his family connections. He does not think it probable that he was of Poitevin origin (*op. cit.*, p. 46; cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 735–37).

20. *Geffroi Poulart* was the son of Pierre Poulart, the treasurer of the Countess of Blois, who founded the abbey of Beaufort in 1364. Other sons of Pierre receive mention in history but not Geffroi (cf. De Courcy, p. 47–48; see also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 655).

21. *Morice de Trézéguidy* came of a crusading family. His presence in the *Bataille* is attested not only by the poem but also by the *Histoire de Louis II, Duc de Bourbon,* composed in 1429 by Jean d'Orronville,[2] and he is mentioned by Christine de Pizan in a letter,

[1] De Courcy says that a part of the genealogy of the family was written by André du Chesne (*Hist. de la Maison de Chateignier,* 1634).

[2] Ed. of Jean Papire Masson, 1612, chap. xv (quoted by De Courcy).

dated October 2, 1402, with Du Guesclin as an example of those who loved loyally. The *Chronique de St. Paul* gives his name, but the Benedictines confuse him with the family of Tronguidy. D'Argentré calls him "*Huet*" or "*Morice de Tronguidy*," Lobineau says "*Morice de Tronguidy*" and mentions also a "*Geslin de Tronguidy*" which is repeated in the version of D. Morice. He is mentioned in a *montre* of Vitré of 1357, of 1363 at Châteaugontier, and many times after in succeeding years. He was captain of Paris in 1380 (pay 1,200 livres parisis) and was still living in 1395, according to papers of a suit sustained against Olivier de Guesclin.[1] See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 928–29.

22. *Guyon de Pont Blanc*, not mentioned elsewhere, although De Courcy quotes various members of the family. He is not given by D'Argentré in the list of combatants. See Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 633.

23. *Morice du Parc* is mentioned in the *enquête* for the canonization of Charles de Blois, in 1371.[2] He was later the captain of Quimper, contributed 5,000 *écus* in 1359 to ransom Blois, aided in the rout of the English before Chisey in Poitou in 1372, and was governor of La Rochelle in 1373.[3] Cf. Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 564–65.

24. *Geffroi de Beaucours* or *Beaucorps* came oï a family from St. Brieuc, according to the *Preuves* of P. Anselme, V, 400, which De Courcy quotes (p. 52). Various members of the family appear in records during the period. See Levot, *op. cit.*, I, 67.

25. *Lanlop* or *Villong*. D172 says *celuy de Villong* (which La Borderie[4] suggests should be *Villéon*); B132 says *celuy de Lenlop*, while the *Chronique de St. Paul* calls him *Geslin de Lanloup* and the Benedictine historians do not include him in the list at all. De Courcy (p. 53) notes the fact that he is wrongly called *Geslin d'Entraguy* (which name is unknown in the chartes) by D'Argentré and Geslin de Troguindy by Dom Morice. De Courcy traces the family for several centuries and appears to establish Lanlop's connection with the battle. The *la Villong* of D may possibly refer to some other estate which he possessed.

26. *Geoffroi Moelon* or *Mellon*, was probably of a family of this name at Rennes. A member of the family was one of the signers of

[1] Cf. *Preuves* of D. Morice, quoted by De Courcy, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50.
[2] Cf. note to *Alain de Tinténiac*.
[3] Le Laboureur, p. 54, quoted by De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[4] La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 517, n. 2.

the association of nobility of Rennes, formed in 1379 to repel foreign invasion. De Courcy (p. 34) states that descendants still exist (i.e. in 1857). See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 453–55.

27. *Jehannot de Serrant* or *Desserain* (*Serens*, D'Argentré; *Serrent*, Lobineau and Morice), is mentioned by all the chroniclers and was the son of Alain de Serent, seigneur of Tromeur. Jehannot de Sérent, in 1356, gave a discharge signed with his arms.[1] His name and that of Jean, his eldest son, are frequently cited in *montres* of Olivier de Clisson, in 1375 and following years. See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 847.

28. *Olivier Monteville.* B has the right version of the name and is confirmed by all historians; the *Bouteville* of D is an error. He was seigneur of Launay and various members of the family are quoted in records of the time. See also Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 492.

29. *Guillaume de la Lande* is quoted by both MSS and in all historical accounts. He was probably a younger son of the family, which had its seat at Guichen (Ille-et-Vilaine). He was a signer of the treaty of Guérande in 1365.[2]

30. *Simon Richard* (*Pachart* in B) was seigneur of Kerjean (Finistère) and appears in a *montre* received by Charruel in 1356 and in one of Du Guesclin in 1370, he ratified the treaty of La Roche Derrien, May 2, 1381, to which his seal is appended. His name disappears after 1382. Further cf. De Courcy, p. 58 and Levot, *op. cit.*, II, 704.

In addition to the names listed in the poem and in place of some of them, D'Argentré mentions *Maurice* and *Geslin d'Entraguy*, who have already been discussed, *Alexandre Fardet*, *Robin de Beaumont*, *Haterel* and a *Huon de St. Yvon* who is also quoted by all the chroniclers. De Courcy (p. 34) calls him seigneur of St. Hugeon (Côtes-du-Nord) and says he does not occur in history after this. He would have increased the list of combatants to 31. The others quoted by D'Argentré are not mentioned elsewhere, so far as I know.

The English

The identification of the Englishmen is extremely difficult, as compared with that of the Bretons. They were mostly chosen from mercenaries engaged in the service of Montfort. For a number, the poem is our only reference, although a few, such as Calverley, Knolles,

[1] Quoted by De Courcy, p. 55.

[2] D. Morice, *Preuves* I, col. 1598, seals 249 (quoted by De Courcy, p. 56).

and Croquart, are figures known in history. Their names were unfamiliar to the author of the poem and are in the majority of cases mangled out of all recognizable shape. The task is made more difficult because in a number of instances only the first name is given, together with an epithet that is usually uncomplimentary.[1] The poem itself calls them mercenaries (D137) and the humble origin of at least one (D91–95) is also affirmed.

1. *Richard Brambro* (D, *Brambroc(h)*, B, *Bomcbourc, Bourcbourc*) the captain himself, cannot be identified with positive certainty. De Courcy (p. 60) considers him an Englishman and notes that a family of this name existed in Brittany down to the sixteenth century. According to Cuvelier (*op. cit.*, I, 40) a *Richard Bembro*, captain of Fougeray, was killed at the capture of that place by Du Guesclin in 1353 and a *Guillaume* Bembro was wounded in single combat by the same (p. 69). I have been unable to secure information in regard to Brambro from a search made for me in the documents of the British Record Office, as many records of the time are lost. The affairs of the English in Brittany seem to have been in a confused state from the death of Thomas Daggeworth[2] to the coming of the king's lieutenant-general, Gautier de Bentley, in the early autumn of 1352.[3] During this period the English power was represented by the captains of the various places. Jehan le Bel (ed. Polain, p. 163) speaks of Brambro as "ung souldoyer d'Alemaigne qu'on appeloit Brandebourch." This statement Froissart copies. But we have seen reasons for doubting Jehan le Bel's accuracy; it is quite possible that, as there were Germans in the combat, he confused their leader with them and from the similarity of names called him Brandebourch (Brandenburg), a name which occurs in the operations of the early part of the Hundred Years' War.[4] Froissart went in person to Brittany and we may ask why he did not correct Jehan le Bel's error; but, when we remember that the former was a protégé of Queen Philippa of England and is in other ways closely connected with the English, it seems natural that he should allow the disgrace of the defeat to rest on the

[1] E.g., Brambro is "*le felon*," others are designated as "*renart, musart, couart, contart*," etc.

[2] Killed near Auray, in August, 1350; cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, p. 509.

[3] Cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

[4] Cf. Knyghton, *Rolls Series*, XCII, 11 (year 1339).

shoulders of a German. On the other hand, the circumstantial evidence that Brambro was an Englishman is very strong. The author of the *Chronique Normande* (*op. cit.*, p. 100) speaks of "Robert Brambroc, chef d'iceulz Engloiz." It hardly seems natural that a foreigner should be in command over such Englishmen of note as Knolles and Calverley. Still more striking is the fact that in the same county of Cheshire from which the two last named came lies the town of Bamborough.[1] A Bamborough family existed there in the fourteenth century and in the records the name is similar to the form in the poem.[2] We know that such companies as served in the wars in France were frequently recruited from one locality and served under their liege lord. It therefore seems reasonable that Richard Brambro was no German but an Englishman from Cheshire.

2. *Robert Knolles* (D, *Crolles;* B, *Canolez;* D'Argentré, *Knole;* Lobineau, *Cnole*) was one of the best-known figures of the Hundred Years' War. He was born in Cheshire about 1317 and after an adventurous life in the French wars he returned to England in 1381 and died about 1406 at his estate in Kent.[3] The most reliable accounts of his life are given by De Courcy (pp. 61–62) and by Ormerod (*Hist. of Cheshire*, II, 764). Additional notes of interest are recorded by D'Auvergne in *Archeologia*, VI (1782), p. 144 f.

3. *Calverley.* Sir Hugh de *Calverley* or *Calveley* was of a family of Cheshire, township of Lea in Broxton Hundred. The genealogy of the family is given by Ormerod.[4] The *Bataille* was Calverley's first appearance in history and from this time on until 1383 his name is frequent in the chronicles. De Courcy (pp. 63–64) reviews his life and mentions that at the combat of Montmuran in 1354 he was captured by Enguerrand de Hedin, or Endin, a Picard nobleman, whom Froissart wrongly styled one of the Thirty.

4. *Croquart* was a German adventurer who rose from the position of valet to one of wealth and military dignity.[5] He remained faithful to the English although the French king tried to bribe him. Froissart

[1] Township of Lea in Broxton Hundred.

[2] Cf. Recognizance Rolls, *Bromburgh*, *Brumburgh*, *Bromborch*, quoted by Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, II, 428 and also 767.

[3] A note by Ainsworth in *Bentley's Miscellany*, XLV (1859), 9, says Knolles was buried at Grey Friars Church in London, August 18, 1407.

[4] *Op. cit.*, II, 285–86.

[5] Cf. ed. S. Luce, IV, 69–70.

says that his death was due to a fall from his horse. Further, cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

5, *Plesanton;* 6, *Ridele;* 7, *Helecoq;* 8, *Repefort,* are all mentioned by all the historians but we have no other mention of them save in the *Bataille.* Plesanton, from his title, appears to have been a man of rank.

9. *Taillart* (D, *Renequin Relcart*), called *Jannequin Taillart* by all the chroniclers, is said to have been identical with Jannequin Toigné[1] who captured Du Guesclin and put him to ransom as related by D'Argentré.[2] I am unable to see De Courcy's reasons for this assumption.

10. *Richard de la Lande,* dit *Le Fier,* occurs in *montres* of Olivier de Clisson, received at Vannes in 1375 and following years.

11. *Belifort* (*Billefort,* D'Argentré) is identified by De Courcy with a Thomelin Henefort, who is found in 1381 at the siege of Nantes with Calverly and Knolles. As both MSS and the historians agree on the name, De Courcy is probably wrong. There is no other mention of Belifort.

12. *Clamaban* or *Clomean* (*Clervaban,* D'Argentré) is known only by the poem.

13. *Hérouart* (D, *Helcart;* Lobineau, *Henouart*) may be the Hérouart, squire named in a *montre* of Eustache de Mauny, in 1371 (De Courcy). The name may be Hereward(?).

14. *Hulbure, Huebnie* (*Hulbité,* D'Argentré) according to the poem, was a soldier of low degree but of great strength; he is not mentioned again.

15. *Betonchamp* or *Begurcamp* (called *Gamehoup* by D'Argentré and Lobineau; *Guennechoup* by Dom Morice; *Guenehoup* by *Chron. de St. Paul*) is also known only from the *Bataille.*

16. *Gaule l'Alemant,* as his name shows, was one of the six Germans in the *Bataille.* Croquart is the only other one who can be identified as German.

17. *Jeannequin* or *Renequin Mareschal;* 18. *Thomelin Houlnanton* or *Houalton* (*Huleton,* D'Argentré);[3] 19. *Robinet Melipart,* together

[1] De Courcy, p. 65.

[2] D'Argentré, *op. cit.*, Book V, chap. xxviii.

[3] The name may be Walton(?).

with 16, are mentioned by both MSS and all the chroniclers but are not known to occur elsewhere.

20. *Helichon* (or *Harclou*) *le Musart* is named only in the poem; none of the chroniclers mention him.

21. *Isinnay, Isanay* (*Yfray* or *Isannay*, D'Argentré) in 1363 took part in the attempt to relieve Bécherel, besieged by Charles de Blois.

22. *Bicquillay* is mentioned by D alone.

23. *Troussel* (*Roussel*, Dom Morice) is connected by De Courcy with a Guillaume Troussel who fought against Du Guesclin at Rennes in 1356. D'Argentré (*op. cit.*, Book X, chap. xxxv) records the incident but says nothing of any relationship.

24. *Robin Adés* (the *Nadrés* of D is probably an error) under the leadership of Knolles captured Du Guesclin at the bridge of Evran in 1352.[2]

25. *Huelton le Contart* (B. *Dango le Couart*) is a personage about whose real name there is some question. The *Chronique de St. Paul* calls him *Andelé* and by De Courcy (p. 68) he is identified with a *James d'Andelé* who is found with Knolles in the army of the Duke of Lancaster at the siege of Rennes in 1356.[3] This is a good example of the way the scribes confused the names.

26. *Dagorne* was a nephew of Thomas Daggeworth whose murder led up to the battle. His name was Nicolas[4] and he is omitted by D'Argentré. His name occurs in the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*.[5]

27. *Perrot de Commellan* (*Camaleon* or *Commelan*, D'Argentré; *Comenan*, La Borderie) was of a Breton family of which other members are cited by De Courcy (p. 69).

28. *Guillemin le Gaillart* (*Hamon*, D; *Jean*, D'Argentré; *le Caillart*, Dom Morice and *Chron. de St. Paul*) was of a family frequently mentioned in the fourteenth century.[6]

29. *Raoulet d'Aspremont* (*Du Primant*, D; *Raoullet Prevost*, D'Argentré) is recorded as having married in 1351 and having

[1] Cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
[2] *Op. cit.*, Book V, chap. xxviii.
[3] Cf. Lobineau, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
[4] Cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 518, n. 5.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
[6] Cf. De Courcy, p. 70.

acquired the right of burial in the abbey of Redon where, in 1364, with his consort he founded the chaplaincy of La Perche.[1]

30. *D'Ardaine,* who was killed at the end of the combat, belonged to a family holding the barony of Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine). The name first appears in 1150 (cf. De Courcy, p. 71).

Of the English contestants D'Argentré enumerates but 26, Lobineau 28,[2] Dom Morice 28, and the *Chronique de St. Paul* but 25. However, D'Argentré includes in the list:

1. *Hervé de Lexualen,* who is also cited by Lobineau and Dom Morice though the name does not occur in either MS.

2. *Valentin,* also cited by Christine de Pizan under the name of *Vuin* (*Gwynn*?).[3] He is mentioned by all the chroniclers.

MS B speaks of the four Bretons as *Brebenchons;* possibly a Picard scribe was more inclined to consider Brabanters fighting for the English than Bretons. Certainly Flanders and England were in close relations, with a Flemish princess, Philippa, as English queen.

III. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Two manuscripts of the poem are known to exist:

I. (D), Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 4165, Nouv. Acq. Fr., called *Didot* as it belonged to the library of Firmin Didot and was sold to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1878,[4] being No. 35 of the list of the sale. The following portion of the description is taken from Delisle:[5]

Petit volume sur parchemin de 8 feuillets, 230 mm./156 mm. Ecriture du XV^{e} siècle. Miniature en tête. Relié par Capé en maroquin rouge.

The miniature to which Delisle refers occupies about a third of 1^{r} and represents the knights standing in readiness for combat; unlike the miniature reproduced by De Courcy, the battle is not being fought and the detail is very scant. The MS contains 33 lines to the page and is in very good condition. The scribe made comparatively few errors in copying, for it is a copy as shown by the nature

[1] Cf. also De Courcy, p. 70.

[2] Lobineau adds, "On ignore les noms de trois autres."

[3] "En cel an dessus dit (1372) arriva en France Yvain de Galles . . . . et avec luy un sien parent et compaignon moult vaillant ecuyer, qui jadis avoit esté de la Bataille des Trente, du côté des Anglois, appelé Jehan de Vuin, dit le poursuivant d'amours, avecques autres Gallois, etc."—*Le Livre des Faits et des bonnes mœurs du Sage Roi Charles V,* composé en 1403 par Christine de Pizan, ed. 1743, II, chap. xxvi.

[4] Cf. *Ro.* VII, 479.

[5] Cf. L. Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie,* Paris, 1880, pp. 163–64

of the gaps in the text. In one instance, we have a gap of an entire page.[1] The abbreviations are not numerous: *mm* is regularly represented by $\bar{m}$; the omission of *n* is usually indicated by (–) over the preceding vowel (e.g., *souvāt*, 12) although in some cases the *n* is written and the vowel is represented by $\bar{n}$(*b$\bar{n}$*, 14), or by $\ddot{n}$(*g̈nt*, 37). Other occasional abbreviations are, *chūn=chascun; cend^{e}=cendre; d'onn$\bar{e}^{r}$=d'onneur; mess.=messire; $\bar{q}$=que; le^{z}=leurs; vo^{9}=vous; q^{i}=qui; c$\hat{h}$al=cheval; n$\bar{r}$e=nostre; Jhūcrist=Jhesuscrist; Guitte=Guillaume; jus$\bar{q}$z=jusquez; Bretaig^{e}=Bretaigne; p$\bar{n}$t=present; v$\bar{r}$e=vostre;* yet these abbreviations are by no means consistently used. Numerals are generally written out; where they are not, I have substituted the words in the text and indicated the variants; *u* within the word is regularly used for *v*, with which I have replaced it in the transcription. In some cases it is hard to distinguish between the copyist's *u* and *n*. The MS contains 499 lines.

II. (B), Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 1555, called *Bigot* from having belonged to a Picard scholar, Bigot, in the seventeenth century.[2] It occupies ff. 50v.–58v. The following is from the Crapelet edition of 1827:

Ce ms. forme un volume petit in 4°, sur vélin, fatigué, sali, dechiré et raccommodé en plusieurs endroits. Il est d'une écriture ronde, peu régulière, du commencement du XV^{e} siècle. Il contient 225 feuillets numerotés en chiffres arabes, d'une main moderne. Après trois feuillets d'une écriture cursive gothique, qui servent de garde, on lit au bas de la première page du texte:

Ms de Mrs. Bigot, 328
R. 7595
2.

On trouve des réclames à la fin de chaque cahier, et chacun de ces cahiers se compose d'un nombre inégal des feuillets. Le volume a été rogné, et plusieurs lettres du haut des pages ont été atteintes. Un certain nombre de feuillets qui conservent des traces d'écriture ont été grattés pour être employés dans le volume, dont les deux derniers feuillets sont blancs. On lit sur le verso du dernier, vers le milieu de la page, ces mots en écriture gothique:

"*Ce livre appartient à Symon Pierres, conseiller en court lay, demourant à Vernon sur Seine.*"

[1] *Laisse* XXXV and part of *Laisse* XXXIV of B are lacking in D.

[2] La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1906, III, 510, n. 1.

Trois autre feuillets, qui ont été grattés, terminent le volume et laissent également apercevoir plusieurs lignes d'écriture.

Crapelet, pp. 2 ff., gives a full description of the 27 different works contained in the MS, of which a few only need be mentioned. I refer to them by the order of occurrence.

3. *La Bataille de XXX Englois et de XXX Bretons qui fu faite en Bretaigne*, etc. Ff. 50v.–58v.
10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22—The Lives of various saints.
12. *Ave Maria*, glossed.
20. *Cy commence le livre de la passion Nostre Segneur Jhesucrist.*
21. *Cy commence la vanganche Notre Segneur Jhesucrist.*
23. *La cause pourquoy (no) on doit amer et visiter le saint lieu de Fescamp et devotement entendre l'histoire du precieus sanc.*
24. Four miracles about the vial of blood at Fécamp.
25. Piece, without title, upon a comet.[1]

The large number of religious works and the space given to the miracles indicate that the scribe was possibly a monk at Fécamp, or, that it was written in that town.

As has been noted by La Borderie and others, B is much inferior to D in execution. In B the letters are not so plain, and there are many omissions of single words through carelessness. Twice an omitted line is put at the bottom of the page;[2] in various instances the scribe does not take the trouble to erase a miswritten word but draws a line through it and adds the correction. His treatment of the names has already been mentioned.[3] It is hardly necessary to add that, like D, B is also a copy of an earlier form; as it stands, it contains 519 lines. The scribe of B does not use so many abbreviations as we find in D—$\overline{m}$ and $\overline{n}$ frequently stand for the doubled consonant; *chlrs̄* is not uncommon for *chevaliers; mess.* for *messire; vo*^{9} *= vous; Guill'e = Guillaume;* a vowel with (-) for vowel+*n* (e.g., *encōbrier*); *ff* for *livres* (155); *no*^{z} *= nous* are the commonest abbreviations found, but words are generally written out in full. *V* within a word is written as *u* which I have altered to *v* in the transcription, as in the case of D.

The most casual inspection of the two MSS shows that they are themselves copies. The number of lines which are literal parallels

[1] This composition speaks of a comet which appeared in 1402 and consequently the MS is posterior to that date.

[2] E.g., ll. 221 and 324.

[3] Cf. *Introduction*, II, "The Combatants."

is surprisingly small, and even when we add the lines that vary but so slightly that the variations may be ascribed to a copyist, we still come far short of the total number. As for the rest, there is sometimes a complete variant or else the words are materially altered. A striking illustration of this is the substitution of the arms of Agappart (B159–160) for those of *jadis roy Edouart* (D199). While there are some passages in which B is the clearer in sense, in general D offers the fewest difficulties and requires less emendation; consequently, it may be considered as representing more nearly the original form. A combination of D with the lines supplied by B would result in a poem of 575 lines. The last of B, XXXIV, all of B, XXXV, B, XXVII, and B, ll. 431–40 have undoubtedly been omitted from D. If we add them we get 550 lines, which is probably not far from the original form. It is very likely that B contains some interpolated lines, as indicated in the notes.

IV. EDITIONS

The poem has been published in its entirety five times, in each case from the Bigot MS alone; D seems to have been entirely unknown to the early editors. The following are the editions.

I. Le Chevalier de Fréminville.[1]

"*La Bataille des Trente*, Brest, 1819 (Lefournier et Deperiers), in 8°, 39 pp. Poème du XIV^e^ siècle transcrit sur le MS originale, conservé à la bibliothèque du roi et accompagné de notes historiques."

The history of the Fréminville edition is given by Crapelet in the *Avertissement* of his 1827 edition of the *Bataille*, *q.v.*

En 1813, M. le Chevalier de Fréminville, en s'occupant avec M. de Penhouet, ancien officier de la marine royale, de recherches historiques sur les antiquités de la Bretagne, decouvrit à Paris, dans un recueil de pièces manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, le récit en vers du *Combat des Trente*.

Continuing, Crapelet recognizes the service done by Fréminville but severely criticizes the inaccuracy of his transcription, saying that it offers so many differences from the MS:

[1] I have not been able to consult the Fréminville edition, not being able to find it in America. However, the work was used by Crapelet, De Courcy, and others. By them it is considered inaccurate and, as it contains scarcely more than the text, it can hardly be considered a valuable or an accurate work.

que j'ai douté un instant s'il ne se trouvait pas deux manuscrits . . . . à la Bibliothèque du Roi, *ce qui n'existe pas en effet.*

He notes,

comment nombre des mots ont été changés et remplacés par d'autres, dont l'editeur donne même l'interpretation; comment plusieurs vers ont été omis, d'autres transposés; enfin comment *il se trouvent cinq cent dix neuf vers dans le manuscrit original et seulement cinq cent un dans l'édition de M. de Fréminville.*

From Crapelet's account one might suspect that this edition was taken from another MS now lost. He, however, seems to be satisfied that it was based on the Bigot MS, and that the inaccuracies are due to recopying and printing.

II. J. A. BUCHON.

Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises, Vol. XIV, Paris, 1826, pp. 301–20. In a note Buchon acknowledges having received a copy of the MS from "M. Méon,[1] employé aux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi." Buchon's text is a close reproduction of B with all the errors as they stand.

III. G. A. CRAPELET.

Le Combat de Trente Bretons contre Trente Anglais, publié d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, 1827. (Imprimerie de Crapelet.)

This is an octavo volume, No. III of the *Collection des anciens monuments de l'histoire et de la langue française*, according to the title-page, "Imprimé sous les auspices de M$^{gr.}$ Le Comte de Corbière ministre et secrétaire d'État au Département de l'Intérieur." It contains vii+110 pp. with frontispiece described as "Le monument de la Bataille des Trente, élevé dans la Lande de Mi-voie en 1819." At the end of the volume are six plates giving the armorial bearings, 31 in number, of the Bretons.[2] There is also a list of the English participants, 7 chevaliers, 9 écuyers, and 15 gendarmes; and a table of contents. After the introduction Crapelet reproduces ff. 50$^{v.}$–51$^{r.}$ of B, followed by the description. The text occupies pp. 13–35; the translation into modern French with notes, pp. 37–58; Froissart's account, pp. 59–68; a long account of the monument

[1] Cf. Crapelet, ed. 1827, avertissement.

[2] Both Nos. 25 and 26 are those of Trézéguidy.

raised July 11, 1819. This last recounts the speeches and the names of the principal participators and spectators. Crapelet evidently had no intention of omitting anybody who had a pretense to importance. As to the text, it is practically identical with the Buchon text, save that, while Buchon solves the MS abbreviations, and changes *u* to *v*, Crapelet aims at exact reproduction.

IV. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1837, *chez Jules Rénouard.*

The second edition has the same pagination as the first edition (of 1827) and is a reproduction of it, apparently from the same plates. In the 1837 edition the rubrics are poorly marked and, through an error, the six plates with the armorial bearings are interposed between pages 96 and 97 instead of coming at the end after page 110. Save for this and the difference in publishers, they are the same.

V. Pitre-Chevalier.

In *La Bretagne Ancienne et Moderne*, Paris (no date),[1] in-folio, pp. 365–85. Pp. 371–85 contain the text, with some notes. After criticizing the edition of Fréminville as "assez incorrecte" and that of Crapelet as "plus brillante que rigoureuse,"[2] Pitre-Chevalier says,

> Nous imprimons ici l'excellente copie faite par M. Méon lui-même pour M. Buchon. . . . . C'est le fac-simile parfait de l'original, avec toutes les naïvetés de son style, etc.

This edition adds practically nothing to our knowledge of the subject.

Partial Reproductions

I. K. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, X^e^ ed., Leipzig, 1910.

This is based mainly on the edition of Crapelet which is collated with D from a copy made by M. Apfelstedt for K. Bartsch. It is a text reconstructed from both D and B and comprises 186 lines, representing D to l. 186 and B to l. 145. A number of emendations are made, usually good, but occasionally without seeming justification.

II. Pol de Courcy, *Le Combat de Trente Bretons contre Trente Anglais*, St. Pol de Léon, 1857, in 4°, title, 78 pp.+2 plates with armorial bearings.

The frontispiece is a picture of the battle, taken from the original miniature of Pierre le Baud, reproduced in color. It represents the sky and sea in the background (an error, as the sea is a

[1] The signature to the preface indicates the date as 1844. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

considerable distance from the scene of the fight). Two castles are to be seen on the shore, on opposites sides of the picture; nearer, and in the center, is the "Chêne de Mi-Voie." In the foreground are the knights, engaged in combat, their figures well distinguished. Part of the combatants on both sides are clad in silver-colored armor and part in gold. The Bretons are marked by black crosses on a white background on their breasts and their opponents by red crosses on a white background. Beaumanoir with his coat of arms (*d'azur avec onze billets d'argent*) is seen to the left, urging on his men, and is the only knight to be identified. After a historical sketch of the locality and his visit to it (pp. 1–3), the author proceeds to an account of the battle and events preceding (pp. 4–14), a note on the monuments erected (pp. 15–19), an extract from the *Chronique de Jean de St. Paul* (pp. 19–26). Then follows the really important part of the work (pp. 27–72), the biographies and genealogies of the Breton knights and of some of the English party. The author's sources are various chroniclers, the Benedictines Dom Morice, Dom Lobineau, and D'Argentré and various documents dating from the period. It contains a large proportion of the information obtainable on the subject, in many cases conclusive, although the author evidently is striving for a glorification of the Breton nobility and seeks to connect the heroes of the *Bataille* with contemporary families whenever he can do so. In the course of his work De Courcy quotes 127 lines of the poem, either from B itself, or from one of the editions of it. His reproduction consists merely of a line or two at a time, modernized freely.

III. A. DE LA BORDERIE, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1906, III, pp. 510–29.

Quotes in all 44 lines of the poem, partly from the Crapelet text, partly from the Didot MS which he mentions.[1]

V. LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION

I. The poem in D and B consists of 499 and 519 Alexandrine lines respectively, divided into monorimed *laisses* of very unequal length. The longest *laisse* of D is IV (44 lines in é) and of B is IV (43 lines

[1] There is also a translation into English verse by W. H. Ainsworth in *Bentley's Miscellany*, XLV (1859), 5 ff. and 445 ff., entitled *The Combat of the Thirty*. It is a translation of one of the editions of B and is accompanied by some biographical notes.

in **é**); the shortest is the assonanced *laisse* in **on—e** (D, XIV; B, XIII), which contains only 4 lines in both MSS.

The rimes are but 22 in number and as some of these are but slight variations the list might be reduced still further. The list of rimes, arranged alphabetically, is as follows:

1) **-a** (D, XXXII, 17; B, XXXII, 19).
2) **-aige, -age** (D, XVIII, 13; XXIV, 9; B, XVII, 13; XXIII, 8).
3) Assonanced **-an—e** (D, VIII, 10; XIII, 8; B, VII, 9; XII, 7). This assonance presents no mixture of **an—en** for, although we have *alience* (D, 180) and *pestilence* (B, 140), we also have *aliance* (D, 133) and *pestilance* (D, 182).
4) **-ant** (D, XXXI, 23; B, XXXI, 25). Free from mixture with **-en.**
5) **-art** (D, XV, 27; B, XIV, 29).
6) **-é** (D, III, 44; XIX, 8; B, III, 43; XVIII, 8). This rime includes the form *e* for *ui* < *hŏdi̯e* (B, 210; D, 249). This development of *o̯*+*i* is a dialectical feature of certain districts in the west. Latin MODIA appears as *mée* in place names in depts. Eure-et-Loir, Mayenne, Manche, Sarthe, Ille-et-Vilaine (cf. Östberg, *Les voyelles vélaires accentuées*, 1899, p. 88), instead of *Muids* which is the form outside this district. Cf. also, *pée* for *puis*, *piée* for *pluie*, *net* for *nuit*, etc. (Goerlich, *Die nordwestlichen Dialekte der Langue d'oïl*, in *Rom. Studien*, V, pp. 50–51). See also *Atlas linguistique*, map 72 (*aujourd'hui*), s.e. Morbihan. The rimes in **-é** are also mixed with **-ié** (1 syl.), e.g., *devié* (B, 21; D, 21), *pitié* (B, 24; D, 23; B, 38; D, 37), *pechié* (B, 45; D, 44), *pié* (B, 63; D, 64), etc.
7) **-ée** (D, XXIII, 18; VI, 9; B, XXII, 19; VII, 8).
8) **-el** (D, XXXIII, 14; B, XXXIII, 22).
9) Assonanced **-en—e** (D, II, 8; B, II, 8). Free from mixture with **-an.**
10) **-ent** (D, IV, 8; B, IV, 9). Contains a trace of mixture with **-an** (D, 72 *avant;* B, 71 *avant*, B, 72 *fiant*)—of these B, 72 may be an interpolation (cf. note to text).
11) **-er** (D, V, 34; XI, 14; B, XXXV, 24; X, 14). Contains some mixture of **-ier** (1 syl.) with **-er** (cf. *pautonnier*, D, 95, etc.).
12) **-és** (**-ez**) (D, XXXIV, 25; XXX, 21; B, XXXIV, 36; XXX, 20).

13) **-ie** (D, XXVII, 28; XXV, 17; XXXV, 11; B, XXVIII, 27; XXIV, 21; XXXVI, 10). This rime contains no trace of reduction of **-iée** to **-ie**, save *aillie* (B, 281; B332; D357) which is probably a common expression from the Francian. (Cf. note to D275.)
14) **-iers** (D, IX, 7; B, VIII, 7). In all cases without diaeresis.
15) **-is** (D, XX, 11; XXII, 7; B, XIX, 11; XXI, 8).
16) **-oint** (D, V, 8; B, VI, 5). For *feroint*, etc., cf. *Versification*, II, 3.
17) **-on** (D, X, 12; B, IX, 11; XXVII, 7).
18) **-ons** (D, I, 13; XVI, 11; B, I, 13; XV, 11).
19) Assonance in **-on—e** (D, XIV, 4; B, XIII, 4).
20) **-ort** (D, XXVI, 10; B, XXV, 11).
21) **-u** (D, XXIX, 19; XXVII, 15; XVII, 6; XXI, 5; B, XXIX, 19; XXVI, 15; XVI, 6; XX, 6). In the list of these rimes occurs several times the form *lu* for *luy* (B, 310, 348, 355; D, 340, 373, 378, etc.). This form is not Picard (although it is found in eastern France—cf. Rydberg, in *Bausteine d. rom. Phil., Festgabe Mussafia*, Halle, 1905, p. 370), nor is it quoted by Goerlich, but it is found in Anglo-Norman (cf. Suchier, *Les Voyelles Toniques*, Sec. 24, 4, *b*); it is used by Frère Angier (cf. Cloran, *Dialogues of Gregory the Great, translated into Anglo-Norman French by Frère Angier*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 57). M. K. Pope (cf. *Study of the Language of Frère Angier*, Paris, 1903) advances the theory that Angier wrote in the dialect of Anjou (cf. the review of by A. Thomas, *Romania*, XXXIII). This would accord well with the other dialect features of the *Bataille*. The form occurs in the patois of Maine as late as the seventeenth century, e.g., "o lu l'en ne fait," *Dialogue de Trois vignerons du Païs du Maine sur les misères de ce temps*, Jean Lousnor (2d ed. Rouen, 1630, pp. 22 and 37).
22) **-y(-i)** (D, XII, 8; B, XI, 8). This *laisse* rimes *ly* (pron.) with *mercy;* etc.

There occur no rimes in **-ou** and **-eu** or in **-oi** and **-ei**, so that it is impossible to consider the author's usage under these two heads. In both MSS *eu* occurs regularly in the tonic syllable, as in Francian; *ou* is, however, found in *seignours* (D1), *executour* (D53), *flour* (D305,

D312), *paour* (D331), *goule* (D396), *chalour* (D439). *Ei* for *oi* (regular in the *Livre des Manières*) does not occur in the *Bataille*. Records of the thirteenth century (cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Afz. Gram.*, 8th ed., pp. 285–87) give frequent examples, but Reis in his work on Guillaume de St. André (*Die Sprache im Libvre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne*, Erlangen, 1903, pp. 23–24) finds no traces of it in this composition of the late fourteenth century. The form *vroy* for *vray* also occurs.

II. *The number of syllables—*

1) ə between consonants regularly has metrical value save in the following cases—*messire* (B36, 108, 110, 146, 150, 293, 356, 391; D35, 187, 191, 379); *sire* (D149?). *Messire* is 3 syl., D417; *sire* is 2 syl., B236, 247; D284, 327; *eglis(e) chanta*, D437; *mich(e) ne*, B437; *royaulm(e) de*, D132.

2) *Enclisis.* There are no cases in the *Bataille.*

3) ə following the tonic vowel and in hiatus with it frequently occurs:

(A) Where followed by a vowel—*myë achivé*, D52; *espéë et*, B447; *journéë est* (!) B480.

(B) Where consonant follows—*pryë*, D19; *prië*, D494; *envoyë*, D185; *espées et*, D219; *Montjoie*, B480.

(C) Has no metrical value when followed by consonant—*journée sera*, B396; *My(e)-voy(e)*, D451; *dient*, B394.

(D) The *-ent* of pres. 6, ind. and subj. regularly has metrical value save in *aient* (*ayent*), B52, D51, D496; *soient*, B516, 517; *soint*, D497.

(E) The *-ent* of fut. and cond. 6 is always without value and is often not written—*estoient*, B48; *devoient*, B187, D226; *faisoint*, D416; *combatoient*, B415; *vouloyent*, D491; *feroyent*, etc., D108–112; *feroient*, B276; *devroient*, B126; *vouldroint*, D112, etc.

4) A pretonic ə immediately following another pretonic vowel is doubly treated. It has metrical value in *poësté*, D59; *escuiërie*, D312; *praërie*, D342; *prayërie*, D489; *pra[ë]rie*, B318. In the future it is regularly without metrical value and is sometimes not written—*hayeront*, D240; *haerront*, B201; *envoieray*, B232; *tuerai*, B359; *mainront*, D334; *amerron*, B216; *merront*, B303; and in the conditional, *daigneroient*, B275 (2 syl.). However in *envoyeré*, D255, D270; *remuëra*, D289 ə has metrical value.

5) An atonic ə preceding a tonic vowel in hiatus is found both with and without metrical value.

(A) With metrical value—*menestreëlx*, B4; *vëu*, B301; *bëu*, B316; *congnëu*, B356; *ëu*, B490; *Clomëan*, D197, etc.

(B) Without metrical value—*veoir*, D36; *seurs*, B214; *congneu*, D331; *veu*, B352; *cheu*, B354, B365; *aconcheu*, B357; *Jehan*, B110, B150, D191, etc. The form *jêuna*, B418 (2 syl.) is also found. A similar double treatment exists in the *Livre* of Guill. de St. André (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

6) *Elision of* ə—

(A) Before *h* aspirate ə is always retained with metrical value, e.g., *de hache*, B90; *de honte*, B143, D184; *le hardy*, B166.

(B) The feminine form of the possessive adjective is regular in the *Bataille—m'entente*, B227; *m'amie*, B336, D361; *s'image*, B261; once, *mon entente*, D265.

(C) *Elision* of vowel in monosyllable.

(1) *Que* (pronoun and conjunction) is generally elided, but examples of hiatus are also common, e.g., *que* | *on*, B18; *que* | *il*, D29; *que* | *aions*, B92, D286; *que* | *est*, D371; *que* | *oublier*, B107; *que* | *une*, D426, etc.

(2) *Qui* is never elided—*qui est*, D18, B108, B109; *qui aura*, B71, D72, etc.

(3) *Si*(*sy*) < SIC is never elided—B44, B321, D43, D102, D128, etc.

(4) *Se* < SI is elided—B11, B299, D210, D242, etc.

(5) The object pronouns, *se*, *me*, *te*, *le*, *la*, are always elided.

(6) *je* is usually elided; but also not—B283, D270, D274.

(7) *ce* is regularly elided; but occasionally not—*ce* | *auray*, B236.

(8) *ne* < NEC and *ne* < NON, and *de* are invariably elided.

(9) *Li*(*ly*), nom. plu. masc. is never elided.

7) *Hiatus* is often avoided by the elision of a final ə but also occurs frequently—

(A) After a single consonant, or doubled consonant.

(1) With *e*— *istoire* | *en*, BD7; *trente* | *Englois*, BD8; *vueille* | *ayder*, D91; *chose* | *est*, D129; *hache* | *et*, D285; *cruelle* | *est*, D425, etc.

(2) With other vowels—*parlera* | *on*, B93; *verra* | *on*, B70; *ainsi* | *est*, B431.

(B) After a mute+liquid—*ventre* | *ot*, D97; *vostre* | *estoutie*, B265, D412; *chapple* | *orrible*, B386, D434; *combatre* | *ensemble*, D116, etc.; but *combatre ensemble*, D126, is to be read with elision.

8) *Synaeresis* is rare but occurs twice—*n'y en*, B215; *n'y a*, B447.

9) Metrical value of groups. Diaeresis is found of, **-ie** in *biën*, D387 (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 13), e.g., *achier*, B155; *liëpart*, D206 (but not in *liespart*, B168); regularly in words ending in **-ion**, e.g., *religions*, B3, D4; *nacions*, B403, etc.; **-oe-** in *Ploërmel*, B32, D31 (cf. *Pelmel*, B78); **-oua-** in *Houalton*, B165, *Edouart*, B58, D58, D199, D255 (but as one syl. in B216, B232, D270); **-oue-** in *jouël*, B439; **-ue-** in *Huëlcoc*, D192, etc., *Charruël*, B104, D144, etc. (but as 1 syl. in B257, D294). To be noted also without diaeresis is **-oie-**=**-oi-** in *Beaumanoier*, B188, B192, B226.

10) *Epenthesis.* Epenthetic *e* occurs once—*esbateront*, D11.

III. *Cesura.*—The author strongly favors masculine cesura. Of the 499 lines of D no less than 334 (67 per cent) have masculine cesura and 165 feminine; in B the figures are 353 (68 per cent) and 166 feminine. The tendency to strengthen cesura is also shown by the large proportion of words of more than one syllable upon which the cesura falls (238 masc. cesuras in D on such words and 250 in B). Moreover, a cesura resting on the tonic syllable alone is comparatively rare (40 times in both D and B). Such a thing as a weakening of the sixth syllable is unknown and thus the verse, like much epic verse, presents an impression of unrelieved monotony.

IV. *Rime.*—Rich rimes are frequent in the *Bataille*, occurring 42 times in both D and B in consecutive lines; occasionally leonine rime is found—D310–12, 443–45, 465–66; B59–60, 403–4, 412–13, etc. The rimes in the *laisses* are consistent with but few exceptions. Assonance occurs only in the *laisses* with a nasal followed by *e;* **-age** is unmixed in B but the **-aige** *laisses* of D have a few cases of mixture, e.g., *oultrage*, D232, *viage*, D240, and *rage*, D300. This peculiarity of *rage* is mentioned by Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 34) who quotes Palsgrave's reference to the word. Leroux, *Marche du patois actuel dans l'ancien pays de la Mée*, St. Brieuc, 1886, p. 8 (quoted by Reis) affirms this

mixture of **-aige** and **-age**. The reduction in one case of **-iée** to **-ie** and the occurrence of *lu* in rimes with *abatu*, etc., have already been discussed (I, 13, I, 21). Forms in **-er** occur rarely in **-és** *laisses*, e.g., *blechiers*, B378; *pensers*, D476, D482. Conversely, **-és** and **-ez** are found in **-er** *laisses*, e.g., *postez*, B490; *tappichiés*, B502. *Lui* becomes *ly* and rimes with *mercy*, *aussy*, etc., B134, D174, etc. In *laisses* in **-és** (**ez**) an ungrammatical *s* is very frequently added, e.g., *passés*, B364, D389; *verités*, B367, D392; *enversés*, B371, etc.; *blechiez*, B452, D467; *alosés*, B454 (even *alosers*, D469); *à son grés*, B458. Sometimes the author changes a modifying pronoun to the plural to agree, e.g., *à ses grés*, D471.

V. *Enjambement.*—Enjambement occurs 24 times in both D and B, e.g., DB17–18, D55–56, B56–57, D102–3, D105–6, D125–26, B146–47, etc. I have included only the most marked cases such as a noun followed by a modifying prepositional phrase in the next line.

VI. *Faulty verses.*—Faulty verses occur rarely in D, ll. 192, 200 (misunderstanding of proper names), and possibly 294; in B they occur 23 times in the MS—15*a*, 86*b*, 115*ab*, 128*b*, 142*ab*, 151*a*, 151*a*, 215*b*, 275*b*, 330*a*, 353*b*, 365*a*, 371*b*, 380*a*, 387*a*, 390*a*, 399*b*, 411*a*, 417*a*, 429*b*, 440*a*, 495*a*, 497*a*. Nearly all of these are scribal errors and corrections are either made in the text or indicated in the notes. In the case of 142*ab* I have not ventured to do more than prefer the reading of D.

VII. The versions of the poem vary considerably in the two MSS, for, of the 499 and 519 lines of D and B, only 138 are identical in both, and even if we add to this the 188 which differ only in a word or in word order, we have still a third of the lines which are not parallel; some are in *laisses* missing in the one or the other MS; yet, even with such allowance, the reconstruction of a text becomes a questionable matter and for that reason it has seemed preferable to print both MSS as they stand.

VI. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION

The *Bataille de Trente* has generally been assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century by the various editors of the text up to this time. Fréminville remarks that, "L'oeil le moins exercé serait frappé de sa ressemblance matérielle avec les Chroniques de

Saint Denis, années 1375–80."[1] He also notes that the arms and armor cited in the poem belong to this period, "notamment le fauchard et le branc et le branc d'acier qui disparut au siècle suivant." Another part of Fréminville's introduction is still more specific. He says, "c'est un récit en vers, ... composé dans le temps même où elle eut lieu. Ce récit, très detaillé, a été écrit sous le règne de Charles V, c'est à dire seulement quelques années après l'affaire"[2] (1364–79). There is apparently no good reason for doubting Fréminville's rather general surmise that the *Bataille* was at least as early as the date indicated. Although B was certainly not copied until after 1402,[3] it says of the combatants *quer le plus sunt en cendre* (B20). At the time the poem was written then, some of them must still have been alive. The fact that D20 reads *car les corps sont en cendre* does not prevent this assumption. It is evident from the reference to *jadis roy Edouart* (D199) that D was copied after 1377 but we do not know how much later. There are, however, good reasons for believing that the original poem was written considerably before 1377 and the reference to the demise of Edward III does not stand in the way of an acceptance of this theory because this reference does not occur in B where we find the comparison made to the Agappart of the *Cycle d'Orange* fame. It is likely that D was copied shortly after Edward's death, when that occurrence was still fresh in the popular mind and his name was therefore substituted by the scribe for the less familiar Agappart (or it may be that Agappart is a substitution of the scribe of B). If the theory be accepted that Jehan le Bel either saw the poem or heard it recited, the date is at once fixed within narrow limits as it is shown by Polain[4] that from the time of the battle of Poitiers (1356) to the end of his chronicle, which stops abruptly in 1361, he sketched events in diary style, while events from from 1340–1357 are written in a more deliberate manner. If he had an acquaintance with the poem, the latter must have been written before 1357 and this conclusion we are inclined to accept from the tenor of the poem itself. It is written in the full tide of partisan conflict, when the struggle between Blois and Montfort was far from

[1] Quoted by Pitre-Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
[2] Quoted by Daru, *op. cit.*, p. 112, note.
[3] Cf. note to Piece 25 in Bigot MS in *Introduction*, III, ii.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.

being decided. Eastern Brittany is still in the hands of the Blois party and the idea of its capture by the English is regarded as an idle jest;[1] Charles de Blois is apparently no longer a prisoner in England[2] and his fortunes have not yet taken the desperate turn that they did after the coming of the duke of Lancaster in 1355;[3] lastly, at the very least, the poem was written while Charles de Blois, who was killed at Auray, in 1364, was still alive.[4] Thus, disregarding any consideration of Jehan le Bel, the poem was written not later than 1364 nor earlier than 1353. It is probable that it was composed before 1355.

As to the locality in which the poem in its original form was composed, all the evidence goes to show that it was written not very far from the scene of the combat. It is intensely partisan in its spirit but the author is in plain sympathy with the French as well as with Charles de Blois;[5] we have a vivid realistic picture of the miserable peasants led in chains to Ploërmel, such a picture as an eyewitness might well have sketched. The author is acquainted with the geographical features which he describes. The *moult beau pré* with its vegetation and the *chesne de Mye-voie* are known to him. All the members of both parties are named. This would not be surprising in the case of the Bretons but it would astonish us if he could enumerate all the English, for the most part men of comparative insignificance, unless he had some personal knowledge of them. The conclusion we draw is also borne out by what we are permitted to judge of the original language of the poem. Both MSS, as might be expected of any composition of so late a date, are filled with Francian traits which occur in D along with the western forms. The scantiness of rimes has already been mentioned; however, two are significant for the language of the author. In D249, B210 occurs the form *au jour d'é* for *au jour d'ui* (cf. *Introduction*, V, I, 6) which is found in Ille-et-Vilaine. This brings us within a short distance of the scene of the combat. Further west at this time the Breton language was spoken. The local tone eliminates a consideration of the more easterly portion of $\varrho+i$ development. The other form in rime is *lu* (for *luy*) in D228, B189, etc. (cf. *Introduction*, V, I, 21), which,

[1] Cf. D56–64; B56–63.
[2] He was ransomed early in 1353; cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 536.
[3] Cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 547.
[4] Cf. D238; B199.
[5] Cf. D237; B198.

according to Miss Pope, is regular for Anjou, just south of where we suppose the *Bataille* to have been written. Its occurrence in the popular speech of Maine has also been affirmed. Putting these linguistic features together, we believe we are justified in concluding that the *Bataille* was written in the southern part of Ille-et-Vilaine, not far from the boundary of Morbihan, or possibly even in the eastern part of the latter department.

VII. AUTHOR

The authorship of the *Bataille* has been ascribed to Cuvelier,[1] the author of the *Vie Vaillant de Bertrand du Guesclin*,[2] on account of a great similarity of style. It is not to be denied that the work of Cuvelier, written in the same meter, sounds in many places like the *Bataille*. On the other hand, a great deal of this effect is produced by repetitions of epic phrases and conventional terms that are a general characteristic of the *chanson de geste* and not to the *Bataille* and the *Vie Vaillant de Bertrand du Guesclin* alone. We have seen that the *Bataille* was written probably as early as 1355, while the poem of Cuvelier was composed after 1380.[3] It is also significant that, while Cuvelier mentions Beaumanoir and several others who were in the *Bataille de Trente*, he nowhere refers to that event as he would certainly be likely to do if he had been the author of our poem. Again, in the passage of Cuvelier's poem (ll. 1670 ff.), in the account of the capture of Fougerai he brings Du Guesclin into conflict with two Englishmen, Guillaume and Robert de Brambroc. Who these individuals were has not been determined. Charrière[4] thinks it probable that tradition has established a connection between the English leader of the *Bataille* and the leader at Fougerai. However that may be, one thing is certain, namely, that if Cuvelier wrote the *Bataille* he would not have been likely to cause Brambro to be killed a second time, by Du Guesclin.

This deduction from the subject matter is also borne out by the rimes in the poem of Cuvelier. A *laisse* in **u**, which is so favored by the author of the *Bataille*, is almost unknown in the approximately 23,000 lines of the *Bertrand du Guesclin* where we find only

[1] Cf. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[2] Cf. ed. Charrière, 2 vols., Paris, 1835.
[3] Cf. ed. Charrière, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxvi.
[4] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 337.

one *laisse* (ll. 19928–72) with this termination and only nine *laisses* in **-us**. While the form *lu* is found four times in rime in both MSS of the *Bataille* it is entirely lacking in Cuvelier and is even avoided by inversion (e.g., 395, *de lui quatre festus*). *Lui* is frequent in *laisses* in **-i**. The development $\varrho+i=\acute{e}$ is also unknown; instead, we have regularly *ui* (e.g., *hui*, 1778; *anuit*, 19969; *anuitie*, 1404; *pluie : praerie*, 18364–65). On the other hand we have *laisses* in **-ie** which show numerous reductions of **-iée** to **-ie** which is entirely lacking in the *Bataille* save for the easily explained *aillie*.

Who then did write the *Bataille*? De Courcy says, "*un trouvère inconnu*"[1] and probably not much more can be affirmed. We may hazard a conjecture that the author was of the clergy, possibly connected with Saint Marcel[2] (D455), for the religious note is frequently struck. Moreover, there are many learned words, especially in B *laisses* XXVII and XV; D XVI. But whatever his standing, it seems very probable that he was a Breton from not far from the scene of the battle and that he wrote within a few years after it occurred.

HENRY RAYMOND BRUSH

HOPE COLLEGE

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

[2] Cf. note to D455.

LA BATAILLE DE TRENTE ANGLOIS ET DE TRENTE BRETONS. II

[Bigot MS]

f. 50*v*. Cy commence la bataille de .xxx. Englois et de .xxx. Bretons qui fu faite em Bretaigne, l'an de grace mil trois cent cinquante, le sammedi devant *letare Jherusalem*.

I

Seigneurs, or faites paix, chevaliers et barons,
Bannerois bachelers, et trestoux nobles hons,
Evesques et abbés, gens de religions,
Heraulx, menestreëlx, et tous bons compaignons,
Gentilz hons et bourgois de toutes nacions,
Escoutez cest roumant que dire vous voulons.
L'istoirë en est vraie et lez dix en sont bons;
Comment trentë Englois, hardix comme lions,
Combatirent un jour contre trente Bretons.
f. 51*r*. Et pour ce j'en vueil dire le vray et lez raisons,
Sy s'esbatront souvent gentilz hons et clarjons
De cy jusqu'à cent ans, pour vray, en leurs maisons.

II

Bons dix, quant ilz sunt bons et de bonne centence,
Toux gens de bien, d'onneur, et de grant sapiënce,
Pour ouïr et conter, y maitent leur entente;
Mais faillis et jaloux sy n'y veulent entendre.
Or en wueil commenchier et raison en wueil rendre
De la noble bataille que on a dit dez trente;
Sy pri à celluy Dieu, qui sa char laissa vendre,
Qu'il ait mercy des armes, quer le plus sunt en cendre.

III

Quant Dagorne fu mort, de cest siecle devié,—
Devant Auray le fort fu finée sa vie—
Dez barons de Bretaingne et de leur compaignie,
Dieu leur face mercy, par sa sainte pitié!
En son vivant avoit pour certain ordonné
Que [les] menues gens (de ville), ceulx qui gaingnent le blé,
Ne seroient dez Englois plus prins ne guerroié.

8, trentë] xxx; 9, trente] xxx; 15, conter] esconter.

[Didot MS]

I

f. 1r. Seignours, or escoutez, et trestous bons barons,
Baneretz chevaliers et trestous nobles homs,
Evesques et abbés, gents de religions,
Gentilz homes, bourgois de toutes nacions,
Heraultz, haulx menestriers, et tous bons compaignons;
Escoutez cest romants que dire vous voulons.
L'istoirë en est vroye et les motz en sont bons;
Coment trentë Engloix, hardiz comme lyons,
Combatirent ung jour contre trente Bretons.
Et pour ce le vueil dire: droict le vieult, et raisons;
Si s'en esbateront gentilz homs et clergons
Dedans cent ans encore souvant en leurs maisons.

II

L'en dist quar il est vroy et de belle sentence,
Trestous les gents de bien, d'onneur et sapiënce,
Pour ouÿr et compter, mettent bien leur entente;
Mais faillis et gloutons sy n'y veulent entendre.
Or vous vueil commencier et raison vous vueil rendre
De la noble bataille qui est nommé[e] de trente.
Sy prye celuy Dieu, qui sa char laissa vendre,
Qu'il ait pitié des ammes, car les corps sont en cendre.

III

f. 1v. Quant Dagorne fut mort, de ce siècle devié,—
Devant Aulray le fort fust le baron tué—

Dieu luy face mercy, par sa saincte pitié!
En son vivant avoit pour certen ordonné
Que les menues gents, ceulx qui gaignent le blé,
Ne fussent des Angloix plus prins ne guerroyé.

17, rendre] tendre; 20, ammes] āmes.

[BIGOT MS]

Quant le baron fu mort, tantost fu oublié,
Quer Bomcbourc pour certain est pour luy demouré,
Qui jure Saint Thomas que bien sera vengié;
Puis a la terre prinse et le païs gasté,
Et embla Ploërmel à doeul et à vilté.
Bien faisoit de Bretaingne toute sa voulanté,
Tant qu'avint la journée que Dieu oust ordonné,
Que Beaumaner le bon, qui tant fu alosé,
Messire Jehan le sage, le preux et le sené,
Vers lez Englois alla pour parler à seurté.
Sy vit pener chetifz dont il oust grant pitié;
Ly un estoit en chesp et ly aultre ferré,
Ly aultre ès gresillons et ly ault(e)re en celé,
Deux et deux, trois et trois, chascun sy fu lié.
Comme(nt) vaches et bouefz que l'en maine au marchié.

f. 51*v*. Quant Beaumanoir lez vit, du coeur a soupiré,
Sy a dit à Bomcbourc par moult tres grant fierté:
"Chevaliers d'Engleterre, vous faictes grant pechié
De travaillier lez povres, ceulz qui siement le blé,
Et la char et le vin de quoy avon planté.
Se laboureux n'estoient, je vous dy mon pensé,
Lez noblez convendroit travaillier en l'eré
Au flaiel (et) à (la) houette, et souffrir povreté;
Et ce seroit grant paine quant n'est acoustumé.
Paix aient d'or en avant, quer trop l'ont enduré,
Le testament Dagorne est bien tost oublié."
Et Bomcbourc sy respont par moult tres grant fierté:
—"Beaumaner, taisiés-vous, de ce n'y soit (plus) parlé.
Monfort sy sera duc de la noble duchié
De Pontorsum à Nantez, jusquez à Saint Mahé;
Edouart sera roy de France couronné;
Englois auront mestrie, partout auront posté,
Maulgré tous lez Franchois et ceulx de leur costé."
Et Beaumaner respont par grant humilité:

—"Songiés un aultre songe, cetuy est mal songié,
Quer jamais par tel voie n'en auriez demy pié."

31, gasté] gaisté; 32, Ploërmel] Pelmel; 37, alla] allerent; 39, en] un; 40, ès gresillons] egresillons; 42, vaches et bouefz] bouefz et vaches; 55, n'y soit] n'aist.

[Didot MS]

Quant le baron fust mort, tout ce fust oublyé,
Car Brambroc pour certein pour luy est demouré,
Qui jura Sainct Thomas que il sera vengé,
Et ot toute la terre et le païs gasté.
Lors ambla Ploeärmel à dueil et à vilté;
Bien faisoit de Bretaigne toute sa volenté,
Jusques vint la journee que Dieux ot ordonné,
Que Beaumanoir le bon, qui tant fust alosé,
Messire Jehan le saige, le preux et le sené,
Aloit veoir les Angloix et parler à seurté.
Si vit paouvres chetiffz dont il eust grant pitié;
Les ungs estoint ès septs et les aultres ferré,

Deux et deux, trois et trois, ainsin estoint lyés,
Comme vachez et beuffz que l'en maine au marché,
Chascun souffroit grant peine, douleur orphanité.
Quant Beaumanoir les vit, du cueur a souspiré;
A Brambroc sy a dist par grant humilité:
"Chevalier d'Angleterre, vous faictes grant pechié
De travailler le peuple qui laboure le blé;
Et la char et le blé de ceulx avons planté.
Si laboureurs ne fussent, ie vous dy mon pansé,
Les nobles couvendroit travailler en l'aré
Au flayeul, à houette, et souffrir pouvreté;
Ellas! ce seroit peine à qui n'a coustumé.
Paix ayent d'or en avant, assés ont enduré,
Le testament Dagorne n'est myë achivé;
Executour en estes, qu'il soit executé."
Et Brambroc luy a dist par moult tres grant fierté:
f. 2r. —"Beaumanoir, taisiez-vous, de ce n'y soit parlé;
Montfort sy sera duc de la noble duchié
De Pontorson à Nantes, jusques à Saint Mahé;
Edouärt sera roy de France couronné;
Angloix auront le haut partout et poësté,
Maulgré tous les Françoys et ceulx de leur costé."
Et Beaumanoir respont, le preux et le sené,
A Brambroc et a dist par moult tres grant fierté:
—"Songés ung aultre songe, car cestuy est songé,
Car jamais par tel voye n'y aurés demy pié."

49, à houette] la houette.

[BIGOT MS]

IV

"Bomcbourc," dit Beaumaner, "sachiez certainement
Que toutes vos gouberges sy ne valent noient:
Ceulx qui le plus en dient, en la fin leur mesprent.
Or le faison, Bomcbourc, s'il vous plaist, sagement;
Combaton nous ensemblez à un ajournement,
Soixante compaignons, ou quatre vingt, ou cent;
Adonc verra on bien, pour vray certainement,
Qui aura tort ou droit sans aller plus avant."
—"Sire," ce dit Bomcbourc, "et je le vous fiant."

69. quatre vingt]. iiij. xx.

[Didot MS]

IV

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "saichez certeinement
Que trestous voz goberges n'y valent ung nyënt;
Celuy qui plus en parle, maintes foiz se mesprent.
Or le faesmes, beau sire, si vous plaist, saigement;
Combatons nous ensemble à ung adiournement,—
Sexante compaignons, ou quatre vingt, ou cent—
Et lors verra l'on cler adoncques et vrayment,
Qui aura tort ou droit, sans aller plus avant."

V

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu le droitturier,
Vous estes vaillant homme et moult soutiff guerrier;
Venés à la journée sans exoine mander.
L'an dist mainte parole qu'on vouldroit rappeller
Et dist on grants goberges souvant dessus disner;
Si ne me faictes mie, comme à Pierres Angier,
Le vaillant homme noble, le gentil bachelier.
O vous il print journee, ce fust pour batailler;
A Ambissat la ville, comme ie ouÿ compter,
Et là vint au dit lieu, pour sa foy acquiter,
A six vingts esperons, tous faitz d'or et d'acier.
Brambroc, vous deffaillistes, n'y osastes aler;
Cest faict cy est moult grant, vous n'en devés mocquer,
De cy à ung grant temps l'on en vouldra parler."
—"Beaumanoir," dist Brambroc, "pour Dieu laissés ester,
f. 2v. Car je seroy ou champ pour certein le premier;
Avec moy trentë hommes, sans croistre ne besser,
Qui seront tous couvers de bon fer et d'acier.
Ja n'y menroy villain, Dieu me vueillë ayder,
Car le maindre de tous sy sera escuyer,
Portant tunicles d'armes, luy ou son davancier."
Mais Brambroc sy mentist, à celer ne vous quier,
Il meina ung villein avoueltre pautonnier
Qui portoit bien de febves, sur son coul ung sextier;
Le ventre ot plus gros que celuy d'ung coursier.
Brambroc, par grant fierté, ce jour le fist armer;
Par luy cuida la mort de Dagorne venger;
Il devoit tout abatre, le villein losengier.
De Beaumanoir le noble je vous en vueil compter;
A Brambroc sy a dist: "Je vueil de cy aler

70, quatre vingt] iiij. xx.

[BIGOT MS]

V

Ainsi fu la bataille jurée par tel point
Que, sans barast ne fraude, loiaulment le fero[i]nt
Et, d'un costé et d'aultre, toux à cheval sero[i]nt.

f. 52*r*. Sy pri au roy de gloire, qui tout sait et tout voi[n]t,
Qu'il en aïst au droit, quer ce en est le point.

VI

Or ont ils à Pelmel la bataille jurée,
A trente compaingnons, chascun de sa menée.
Puis s'en vint Beaumaner, à la chiere membrée,
Au chasteau Josselin, la nouvelle a comptée,
Le fait et l'ent[r]eprinse, mestier n'y a celée,
De luy et de Bomcbourc comment ell[e] est alée.
Là trouva des barons moult tres grant assemblée;
Chacun la mercy Dieu en out moult merchiée.

VII

—"Seigneurs," dit Beaumaner, "sachiez sans demourance
Qu'entre Bomcbourc et moy avon fait acordance,
A trente compaignons, chacun de grant puissance.
Sy feroit bon choisir qui bien ferroit de lance,
Et de hache et d'espée et de dague pesante.
Sy pry le roy de gloire, le Dieu de sapiënce,
Qu[e] aions l'avantage, ne seron en doubtance.
Asés em parlera on en roiaulme de France
Et par toutes lez terres de cy jusqu' à Plaisance."

VIII

[A] Beaumaner ont dit (lez) nobilles bacheliers;
Et la chevalerie, servans et escuiers,
Diënt à Biaumaner, "Nous (y) yron volentiers
Pour destruire Bomcbourc et toux sez soudoiers.

76, sait] soit; 78, ont] onlt; 82, mestier n'y a celée] maistrey n'y a celée; 85, out] on 86, demourance] doubtance; 88, trente] xxx; 95, bacheliers] barons.

[Didot MS]

A chasteau Jocelin pour mes gents ordrenner."
—"Alés," se dist Brambroc, "auxi je vueil mander;
Par toute la duchié je feré assambler
Touts les nobles Angloix que je pourroy trouver."

VI

Ainsin fust la bataille jurée par tel point,
Et que, sans nulle fraude, loyaulment le feroyent,
Et d'ung costé et d'aultre, touts à cheval seroyent,
Ou trois, ou cinq, ou six, ou touts se ilz vouloint;
Sans election d'armes, ainxin se combatroint,
En guisë et maniere que chascun le vouldroint.
Sy pry au roy de gloire, qui voit et bas et mont,
Qu[e]il aidë au droit, car icy est le poinct.

VII

Or ont à Ploeärmel la bataille jurée
D'eulx combatrë ensemble, à certeine journée,
A trente compaignons, chascun de sa livrée,
Puis s'en vint Beaumanoir, à la chere membrée,
A chasteau Jocelin, la nouvelle a comptée,
Et le faict(e) et la chose comme[nt] elle est alée;
f. 3r. De luy et de Brambroc n'y a chose celée.
Là trouva des barons moult grande l'assamblée;
Chascun la Nostre Dame en eust moult graciée.

VIII

—"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir, "sachez sans demourance
Qu'entre Brambroch et moy en avons accordance
De nous combattre ensemble, sans nulle deffaillance,
A trente compaignons, chascun de grant puissance.
Si auroit bon mestier choisir qui fiert de lance
Et de bon branc d'acier, car la chose est grande;
Et si Jhesucrist donne par sa saincte puissance
Que l'avantaige ayons, ne soyez en doubtance,
Moult en sera parlé par le royaulme de France
Et par tout le païs qui tient son aliance."

IX

Or vont à Beaumanoir les nobles bacheliers
Et la chevalerie, servants et escuyers,
Et dyënt, "Noble sire, nous irons volentiers
Pour destruire Brambroch, luy et ses souldoyers;

110, ou cinq, ou six] ou. v. ou. vj.

[BIGOT MS]

Il n'aura ja de nous ne ranchon ne deniers,
Car nous sommes hardix et vaillans et entiers;
Nous ferron sur Engloiz de moult grans coux planiers.

IX

Prenés qu'il vous plaira, tres nobile baron."

—"Je pren[dray] Tintinlac, à Dieu soit beneichon,
Et Guy de Rochefort et Charruël le bon,
Guillaume de La Marche sera mon compaignon,
Et Robin Raguenel, en non de Saint Y[v]on,
Caron de Boscdegas, qu (e)' oubliër ne doit on,
Messire Giuffrai de Bouès, qui est de grant renon,
f. 52*v*. Et Olivier Arel, qui est hardy Breton,
Messire Jehan Rousselot, qui a coeur de lion;
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Bomcbourc le felon,
Jamais je n'auray joye par mon entencion."

X

Apres convient choisir moult trez noble escuier;

De Montauban Guillaume prendray tout le premier,
(Et) de Tintinlac Alain, qui tant est [bon et] fier,
Pinctinien Tritran, qui tant fait à proisier,
Alain de Carramois et son oncle Olivier,
Loïs Guion vendra ferir d'un branc d'achier,
Luy et le Fonstenois, pour leurs corps essoier.
Hauguet Capus le sage ne doit on oubliër,
Et Giuffrai de la Roche sera fait cevalier,

De Brice, son bon pere, qui ala guerroier
Jusques (en) Costentinnoble, pour grant honneur gaingner:
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Bourcbourc le merchier,
Qui chaillenge Bretaingne, —Dieu luy dont encombrier!
Jamais ils ne devroient chaindre de branc d'achier.

XI

Choisy a Beaumanoir, ainsy com vous ay dit,
Giuffray Poulart, Morisce, —[cil] de Tris[é]guidy—
Et Guion de Pontblanc ne mestroy en oubly,
Et Morisce Du Parc, un escuier hardy,

107, Boscdegas] Bosc de gas; 111, ceulx] à eulx; 114, Montauban] Mont Auban; 118, Loïs Guion vendra] Lors Guion y vendra; 121, de La Roche] de Roche; 129, Pontblanc] Porcblant; 130, Du Parc] Du Part.

[Didot MS]

De nous n'aura il mye ne ransczons ne deniers,
Car nous sommes hardis et courants et legiers;
Et ferrons sur Angloix de moult grans coups et fiers.

X

Prenez qui vous plaira, tres droit noble baron."
—"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir, "si les enchoisisson."
Et prindrent Tyntyniac, à Dieu le beneisson,
Et Guy de Rocheffort et Charruël le bon,
Et Robin Raganel, ou nom de Saintt Symon,
Caro de Bodegat, qui moult est bel et bon,
Guillaume de la Lande sera son compaignon,
Et Olivier Arrel, qui est hardy Breton,
Sire Jehan Rousselet, qui a cueur de leon,
Messire Geffray Du Boys, le gentil compaignon:
Si ceulx ne se deffendent de Brambroch le fellon,
Jamais je n'auroy joie en mon entencion.

XI

f.ʳ3v. Ampres couvint choisir maint gentil escuyer;
De Montauban Guillaume prindrent tout le primier,
De Tyntyniac Alain, qui tant a le cueur fier,
De Pestivien Tristan, qui tant est bon guerrier,
Alain de Keranraes et son oncle Olivier;
Louÿs Gouyon vendra ferir du branc d'acier,
Luy et le Fontenais, pour leurs corps aloser,
Huët Captus le noble ne devons oubliër,
Et Geffroy de la Roche sera fait chevalier;
Si Dieu plaist, la journée luy debvra remambrer
De la bonté son pere, qui ala guerroyer
Jusques Constentinnoble, pour son corps aloser.
Ceulx cy se deffendront de Brambroch le baffier,
Qui chalonge la terre,—Dieu luy doint encombrier!

XII

Choisy a Beaumanoir, ainsi comme vous dy,
Geffroy Poulart, Morice,—cil de Trézéguidy—
Et Guyon de Pontblanc, qui est moult bon amy,
Et Morice Du Parc, ung escuyer hardy,

159, le] les.

[BIGOT MS]

Et Guiffray de Beaucorps, qui est moult son amy,
Et celuy de Lenlop, Giuffray Mellon aussy.
Tous ceulx que il appele luy en rendent mercy;
Ils sunt touz à present, ils s'enclinent vers luy.

XII

Apres print Beaumanoir, c'est chose sans doubtance,
Jehanot Desserain, Guillaume de la Lande,
Olivier Montevile, homme de grant puissance,
Et Symonnet Pachart, pas n'i fera faillance.
Toux y metront leurs coeurs et leurs corps em balance

Et tant sunt assemblés sans nulle demourance.
Dieu lez wueille garder de male pestilence!

XIII

f. 53r. Or choisy Beaumanoir tout son nombre
De trente bons Bretons,—or lez gart Dieu de honte
Et à leurs anemis envoit Dieu tele encontre,
Qu'ilz soient desconfis, voiant de tout le monde!

XIV

Messire Robert Bomcbourc a choysy d'aultre part
A trente compaingnons dont il avoit grant tart;
Je vous dyray leurs nons, par le corps Saint Be[r]nart.
Ly un sy fu Canolez, Carvalay et Crucart,
Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridelé le gaillart,
Helecoq son frere, et Jennequin Taillart,
Rippefort le vaillant, et d'Ilande Richart,
Tommelin Belifort, qui moult sust du renart,—
Cil combatoit d'un mail qui pesoit bien le quart
De cent livres d'achier, se Dieu ait en moy part.
Huceton Clemenbean combatoit d'un fauchart
Qui tailloit d'un costé, crochu fu d'aultre part,
Devant fu amouré trop plus que n'est un dart.
Il poursembloit lez armes jadix roy Agappart
Quant combaty de lance encontre Renouart;
Cil qu'il ataint à coup, l'ame du corps lui part.
Jennequin Betoncamp, Renequin Herouart,
Et Gaule l'Al[e]mant, Huebnie le vilart,

143, trente] xxx; 144, envoit] avoit; 147, trente] xxx; 155, livres] ll.

[Didot MS]

Et Geffroy de Beaucours, n'en soyez esbahy,
Celuy de la Villong, Geffroy Moelon auxi.
Tous ceulx qu'il en appelle luy en rendent mercy
Et vont tous à genoulx, escuyers devant luy.

XIII

Ampres print Beaumanoir, c'est chose sans doubtance,
Jahannot de Serrant, homme de grant puissance,
Olivier Bouteville, Guillaume de La Lande,
Et Symonet Richard, ceulx n'y feront faillance.
Ceulx y mettront leurs cueurs et leurs corps en balance
Pour garder leurs païs de malë aliënce.
Atant se sont partis sans point de demourance,—
Dieu les vueille garder de male pestilance!

XIV

Or si a Beaumanoir choisy trestout son nombre
De trente compaignons,—Dieu les garde de honte
Et à leurs ennemis envoye male encontre,
Que ilz soint desconfilz, voyant trestout le monde!

XV

f. 4r. Messire Robert Brambroch a choisy d'aultre part
De trente compaignons dont il avoit grant tart;
Je ne sçay pas leurs noms, mais le cueur si m'en art,
Mais o luy fust Crollés, Tavarllay et Conchart,
Messire Jehan Plesanton, Redoure le gaillart,
Huëlcoc et son frere, Renequin Relcart
Ripeffart le vaillant, et ung aultre Richard,
Ṭhomelin Belliffart, qui fust fier de regard,—
Cil combatoit d'ung mail qui pesoit bien le marc
De cent livres d'acier, sy Dieu m'ait en sa part.
Huëlcoq Clomeän combatoit d'ung fussart
Qui tailloit d'ung costé, crochu fust d'aultre part;

Ce jour sambloit les armes jadis roy Edouärt.

Jehannot Begurcamp, Renequin Helcart,
Et Gaultier l'Alemant, Hulbure le veillart,

172, Moelon] Moelou; 185, encontre] honte.

[BIGOT MS]

Renequin Mareschal, cy mouru celle part,
Thommelin Houalton, Robinet Melipart,
Isanay le hardy, Helichon le musart,
Troussel, Robin Adés et Dango le couart,
Et le nepveu Dagorne, fier fu com un liespart,
Et quatre Brebenchons, par le corps Saint Godart,
Perrot de Commelain, Guillemin le gaillart,
(Et) Raoulet d'Aspremont, d'Ardaine fu le quart.

Bretons desconfiront, ce diënt, par leur art,
Et conquerront Bretaingne jusqu'aupres de Dinart;
Mais de fole vantance est maint tenu musart.

XV

f. 53*v*. Or a Robert Bomcbourc choysy ses compaignons.
Trente furent par nombre et de trois nations;
Car vingt Englois y oust, hardis comme lions,
Et six bons Alemans et quatre Brebenchons.
Armez furent de plates, bacines, hauberjons:
Espées ourent, et dagues et lancez et fauchons;
Et Englois jurent Dieu, qui souffri passions,
Beaumanoir sera mort, le gentilz et li bons.
Mais ly preux et ly sages fist ses devocions
Et faisoit dire messes par grant oblacions
Que Dieu leur soit en aide par sez saintismes nons.

XVI

Quant le temps fu passé et le jour fu venu
Que rendre se devoient dessus le pré herbu,
Beaumanoier le vaillant, que Dieu croisse en vertu,
Sez compaignons apele; qu'ilz vindrent toux à luy,
Et leur fist dire messez, chacun fu absolu,
Prinrent leur sacrement en non du roy Jhesu.

XVII

"Seigneurs," dit Beaumanoier o le hardy visage,
"Ja trouverois Englois, qui sunt de grant courage.
Ils sunt en volenté de nous faire doumage:
Sy vous pry et requier, chascun de bon courage,

177, vingt] xx.; 178, six] vj; 182, bons] hons.

[Didot MS]

Jennequin Mareschal, qui morust celle part,
Thomelin Houlnanton, Robinet Melipart,
Issinay, Bicquillay, et Harclou le musart,
Trousel, Robin Nadrés, Huelton le contart,
Et le nepvou Dagorne, fier comme ung liepart.
Quatre Bretons y furent, par le corps Saint Lenart,
Perrot de Comellan et Hamon le gaillart,
Raoulet du Primant, Dagorne Renouart,
Trente furent nommez des gents roy Edouart;
Bretons desconfiront s'ilz treuvent en leur art,
Et concquerront Bretaigne jusquez chasteau Dynart;
Mais de folle cuydance est moult tenu musart.

XVI

Or a Robert Brambroch choisy ses compaignons.
Trente furent par nombre et de trois nacions;
Car vingt Anglois y eust, hardis comme lyons,
Avecq six Al[e]mans avoit quatre Bretons.
Armés furent de plates, bacynes, haubergons,
Et espées et lances et de maintes faescons.
f. 4*v*. Tous jur(er)ent Jhesucrist, qui souffrist passions,
Beaumanoir sera prins, le gentil et le bons.
Mais le preux et le sage fit ses devisions;
Il fist dire des messes par grant devocions,
Que Dieu luy soit [en] aide, par ses santismes noms.

XVII

Quant le temps fust passé et le iour fust venu
Que rendre se debvoient dedans le pré herbu,
Beaumanoir le vaillant, à qui Dieu doint salu,
Ses compaignons appelle et vindrent tous à lu.
Il leur fist dire messes, chascun fust absolu,
Et prindrent sacrement ou nom du doulx Jhesu.

XVIII

"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir o le hardy visaige;
"Ja trouverons Angloix qui sont de grant oultrage,
Et en grant volenté de nous faire domaige;
Si vous pry et requiers, ait chascun bon couraige,

218, plates] places.

[BIGOT MS]

Tenés-vous l'un à l'autre, com gent vaillant et sage;
Se Jhesucrist vous donne la force et l'avantage,
Moult en ara grant joye de France le bernage
Et le duc debonnaire, à qui j'ay fait houmage,
Et la france duchesse, à qui suis de lignage:
Jamais ne nous haerront à jour de leur aage."
Et chascun jure Dieu, qui hons fist en s'image:
"Se nous trouvons Bomcbourc au plain, hors du boscage,
Jamais ne le verra homme de son lignage."

XVIII

Or diroy de Bomcbourc qui tant a exploitié
De trente compaignons dont il est alié.
Ensemble lez amaine belement, droit au pré,
f. 54*r*. Et leur a dist à toux, c'est fine verité:
"J'ay fait lire mez livrez, Merlin a destiné
Que nous aron victoire sur Bretons au jour d'é,
Et puis sera Bretaigne [et] France, de ver(i)té
Au bon roy Edouart, car je l'ay ordonné."

XIX

"Seigneurs," ce dit Bomcbourc, "soiez baulx et jolis;
Soiez seurs et certains que Beaumanoir est prins,
Lui et sez compaignons, pié n'y en demourra vis,
Et puis lez amerron à Edouart le gentilz,
Le franc roy d'Engleterre, qui cy nous a tramis.
Sy fera de leurs corps trestout à son devis;
Nous lui rendron lez terres prinses jusqu'à Paris,
Puis ne nous atendront lez Bretons vis à vis."
Ainsy le dit Bomcbourc, c'estoit tout son avis;
Mais se il plaist à Dieu, le roy de paradix,
Pas ne vendra si tost à chief de ses devis.

XX

Or a tant fait Bomcbourc, qu'il est premier venu
A trente compaignons dedens le pré herbu;
A haulte vois s'escrie, "Beaumanoier, où es-tu?
Je croy bien à m'entente que tu es defalu,
Des c'on f[e]ist (em) bataille, à riens ne t'a[s] tenu."
A yceste parole Beaumanoier est venu.

202, fist]f fist; 204, le verra] le le verra; 209, Merlin] Meslin; 225, trente] xxx.

[Didot MS]

Tenés vous l'un à l'autre, comme vaillans et saige;
Et si Jhesucrist done que ayons l'avantaige,
Moult en aura grant joye de France le barnaige
Et le duc debonaire, à qui je fis hommaige,
Et la franche duchesse, à qui suys de lignaige:
Jamais ne nous hayeront, à jour de leur viage."
Chascun en jure Dieu, qui les fist à s'(on) ymaige,
Que s'ilz trouvent Brambroch en plain, hors de bocaige,
Que jamais ne verra homme de son lignaige.

XIX

Or dirons de Brambroch qui tant a expleté
De trente compaignons dont il est alié,
Ensemble les ameine, bellement par le pré,
Et leur a dist à tous, c'est pure verité:
"J'ay fait lire mes livres, Merlin a destiné
Que nous aurons victoire sur Bretons au jour d'é;
Et puis sera Bretaingne et France abandonné
Au bon roy Edouart, car je l'ay ordenné."

XX

f. 5r. "Seigneurs," ce dist Brambroch, "soiés b(e)aulx et jolis,
Et tous seurs et certains que Beaumanoir est prins;
Luy et ses compaignons n'auront ung pié d'avis,
Tous les envoyeré à Edouart [le] gentilz,
Le franc roy d'Angleterre, qui cy nous a transmis.
Il fera de leurs corps trestout à ses devis;
Nous luy rendrons les terres prinses jusques Paris;
Plus ne nous actendront les Bretons vis à vis."
Ainsin estoit par foy trestout son grant advis;
Mais, sy Dieu plaist, le pere et roy de paradis,
Il n'yra pas sy tost à chieff de ses devis.

XXI

Or a tant fait Brambroc, que premier est venu
A trente compaignons dedans le pré herbu;
A haulte voix il crie, "Beaumanoir, où es tu?
Je crois en mon entent[e] que tu es deffaillu."

A yceste parolle est Beaumanoir venu.

[BIGOT MS]

XXI

"Beaumanoir," dit Bomcbourc, "se nous voulons, amis,
(Re)muons ceste journée et soit ariere mis;
Et j'envoieray nouvelles à Edouart le gentilz
Et vous yrés parler au roy de Saint Denis;
Et se le fait leur plaist, ainsy com il est prins,
Nous nous rendron ycy, un jour que sera mis."
"Sire," dit Beaumanoir, "de ce auray avis."

XXII

Beaumanoir le vaillant, à la chiere membrée,
A(s) ses gens em present la nouvelle a comptée.
"Seigneurs, Bourcbourc vouldroit la chose remuée,
Que chascun s'en alast sans y ferir collée;
Sy veueil bien qu'entre vous m'en diés vo pensée;
f. 54*v*. Car par ycelluy Dieu, qui fit ciel et rousée,
Dendroit moy n'en prendroye tout l'or d'une contrée
Que yceste bataille ne fust faicte ne oultrée."
Lors parla Charuël, la couleur a muée,
N'y oust meilleur de luy de chi la mer salée:
"Sire, nous sommez trente venus en ceste prée,
N'y a celluy qui n'ait dague, lance et espée,
Tous praes[t] de nous combatre, en non Saincte Homourée,
A Bomcbourc, puisqu'il a la terre chalengiée
Au franc duc debonnaire. Cil ait male durée
Qui jamais s'en ira sans y ferir colée,
Ne qui la (re)muëra pour prendre aultre journée."
Puis respont Beaumaner, "Ceste chose m'agrée;

Alons à la bataille comment ell[e] est jurée."

XXIII

"Bomcbourc," dit Beaumanoir, "vous orrois mon courage;
Voyez là Charuël o le hardy visage,
Et toux lez compaignons, que te seroit hontage
De (re)muer la bataille qu'as offerte à [l]'oultrage
[Qu]'avoiz fait au franc duc, qui est courtoiz et sage;
Si jure(nt) chacun Dieu, qui hons fist en s'image,
Que vous morrois à honte, voyant tout le bernage;

Et vous et tous vos gens, et tout par vostre oultrage."

247, trente] xxx.

[Didot MS]

XXII

"Beaumanoir," dist Brambroc, "je vous pry, beaux amys,
Remuons cestuy terme et soit en avant mis
Et je envoyeré à Edouart le gentilz
Et vous yrés parler au roy de Saint Denis;
Et si le fait leur plaist, ainsin que il est prins,
Si nous rend[r]on icy, le jour que sera mis."
"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "jë auroy bien advis."

XXIII

Beaumanoir le vaillant, o la chière liée,
A ses gents en present la nouvelle a contée.
"Seigneurs, Brambroc vouldroit la chose remuée
Et que chascun iroit sans y ferir colée;
Si vueil bien qu'entre vous digés vostre pensée,—
Car par icelluy Dieu qui fist ciel et rousée,
Dendroit moy ne prandroie tout l'or d'une contrée
Que surement bataille ne soit faicte et oultrée."
Lors parla Charruël a la chière membrée,

"Sire, nous sommes trente venus en ceste prée;
N'a celuy qui n'a lance et hachë et espée,
f. 5*v*. Tous prestz de nous combatre, ou nom Saincte Anorée,
O Brambroc, puisqu'il a la terre chalengée
Par sa desesperance. Qu'il ait male durée

Qui mais remuëra pour prendre aultre journée!"
Puis respont Beaumanoir, "Ceste chose m'agrée."
Et a dist à Brambroc, "Ne soit chose celée:
Mais alon en bataille commë elle est jurée."

XXIV

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "vous oiiés mon doubtaige;
Voyez que dist Charruel o le hardy visaige,
Et tous mes compaignons, que ce seroit hontaige
De remuër bataille sur fait de grant oultraige
Qu'avés fait au franc duc, qui est proudoms et saige.
Si jure chascun Dieu, qui les fist à s'(on) ymaige,
Que vous mourrés à honte, voyant tout le barnaige;
Et vous et tous voz gientz, commë Engloix de rage,
Serés prins et liëz et n'est pas grant oultraige."

272, que il] qu'il; 276, la nouvelle a contée] a la nouvelle contée; 296, de remuër] et remuër.

[BIGOT MS]

XXIV

"Beaumanoir," dit Bomcbourc, "vous faictes grant folie
Que vous mectés à mort par vostrë estoutie
La fleur de la duchié, par sy tres grant folie.
Car, quant ilz seront mors et trespassés de vie,
Jamais en la duchié ne lez trouverois mie."
"Bomcbourc," dit Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu ne pensés mie
Que j'ay cy amené (la) noble chevalerie;
Laval [ne] Rochefort, Eleäc n'y est mie,
Montfort, Rohan, Quntin, ne la grant compaignie.

Mais j'ay bien de certain noble chevalerie,
Et de toute Bretaigne la fleur de l'escurie,
f. 55r. Qui ne daigneroient fuir, ne à mort ne à vie,
Ne feroient traïson, faulseté ne boudie.
Chacun [d'eulx] jure Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie,
Que vous mourrois à honte, voiant la compaignie,
Et vous et toux lez vostrez, quoique chacun en die,
Serois prins et liëz ains l'oeure de complie."
Et Bourcbourc sy respont, "Je ne prise une aillie
Tretoute vo(stre) posté ne vostre segneurie;
Car, maugré vous, ce jour jë auray la maistrie
Et conquerroy Bretaigne et toute Normendie."

XXV

Bomcbourc dit aux Englois, "Seigneurs, Bretons ont tort!
Ferés, frappez su eulx, mectés tout à la mort,
Guardés que rien m'eschappe, [non] ne flebe nė fort!"
D'assaillir lez soixante, ilz sunt toux d'un accort;
A la premiere [joincte] fu grant le desconfort;
Charuël sy fu prins, Giuffray Mellon fu mort,
Et le vaillant Tritran, qui estoit grant et fort,
Fu feru du martel à douleur et à tort,
Messire Jehan Rousselot fu feru presqu'à (la) mort.

Se Jhesucrist n'en pense, qui tout maine à droit port,
Lez Bretons ont du piis vers eulx, je m'en fais fort.

273, noble chevalerie] noble l chevalerie; 288, soixante] lx.

[Didot MS]

Lors respondist Brambroc o la chiere hardye,
Et dist à Beaumanoir, "Vous faictes grant follie
De mectre ainsin à mort par vostre grant maistrie
La flour de la duchié, par vostre desverie."

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu ne pensés mie
Que j'ay cy ameiné la noble compaignie;
Laval ne Rochefort, Loheäc n'y sont mie,
Montfort, Ro(c)han, Quintin, ne la grant baronie,
Leön ne Tournemine, qui sont de grant maistrie.
Mais j'ay bien admeiné noble chevalerie,
De toutes pars la flour, et de l'escuiërie,
Qui point ne fouÿront, ne pour mort ne pour vie;
Ne feront traïson [ne] faulte ne boydie.
Chascun d'eux jure Dieu, le filz Saincte Marie,
Que vous mourrés à honte, voyant la compaignie,
Et vous et tous voz gients, quel que chascun en die,
Serés prins et liëz, ains l'eure de complie."

XXVI

f. 6*r*. Brambroc dist aux Angloix, "Bretons aront le tort!
Ferés et frapés sus, mectés les tous à mort!
Guardés que rien n'eschappe, non ne feble ne fort!"
De s'assembler ensemble sont trestous d'ung accord:
A la premiere joincte fut fort le desconfort.
Charruël fust blecié, Geffroy Moelon fut mort,
Et le vaillant Tristan, qui estoit grant et fort,
Fust feru d'ung martel à douleur et à tort,
Sire Jehan Rouxellet dont fust grant desconfort,
Auxi Geffroy Poulart, qui dessus le champ dort.

305, desverie] desveerie; 314, feront] seront; 324, Moelon] Moelou.

[BIGOT MS]

XXVI

Grande fu la bataille dedens le pré herbu,
Caron de Bosdegas fu du martel (con)fondu,
Et le vaillant Tritran fu à la mort feru.
Lors s'escria moult hault, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu?
Lez Englois sy m'en mainent, blechié et derompu!
Je n' eus onquez paŏur le jour que t'ay veü;
Se le vray Dieu n'en pense par sa sainte vertu,
Englois sy m'enmerront et vous m'aurois perdu."
Beaumanoir jure Dieu qui en crois fu pendu,
Avant y ara il maint rude coup feru
Et rompu mainte lance et perchié maint escu.
A ces parolez tient le biau branc esmoulu,—
f. 55*v*. Cil qu'il ataint à coup(en)est mort ou abatu—
Lez Englois radement se deffendent de lu:
Trestoute la posté ne prisent un festu.

XXVII

Forte fu la bataille et le chapple felon
Et d'un costé et d'aultre urent coeur de lion
Et toux par ordenance firent petticion
D'aller toux querre à boire à nulle arrestezon,
Chascun en sa boutaille, vin d'Anjou y fu bon.
Quant toux urent beü par ordination,
Lors vont à la bataille sans faire targison.

XXVIII

Grande fu la bataille en my la pra[ë]rie
Et le chapplë orrible et dure l'esturmie.
Lez Bretons ont du piis, ne vous mentiray mie;
Car deux sy en sunt mors et trespassés de vie,
Et trois sunt prisonnier,—(o) leur soit Dieu en aÿe!
Ne sunt que vingt et cinq em bataille fournie.

Mais Giuffroy de la Roche requiert chevalerie,
Un escuier moult noble de grant anchesourie,
Et Beaumanoir lui donne, en non Sainte Marie,
Et lui dit, "Beau doulx filx, or ne t'espargne mie;
Membre toy de celuy qui, par cevalerie,
Fu en Constentinnoble à bele compaignie."

323, vingt et cinq] xxv; 329, Constentinnoble] Constentimnoble.

[Didot MS]

XXVII

Quant le vaillant Tristan santist qu'il fut feru,
A haulte voiz cria, "Beaumanoir, où es tu?
Je n'eu onques nul paour en lieu où t'ay congneu;
Les Anglois m'ont blecié, ilz m'ont à mort batu,
Sy Damme Dieu ne panse par la sienne vertu,
Ils me mainront o eulx et tu m'auras perdu."
Beaumanoir sy jura le vroy corps de Jhesu,
Avant y aura il maint rude coup feru,
Et percié mainte lance et percié maint escu.
A ces parolles traict le bon branc esmoulu,—
Ce qu'il ataint à coup est tout mort abatu—
Les Angloix roidement se deffendent de lu;
Tous ses dis et ses faitz ne prisent ung festu.

XXVIII

Grande fust la bataille en my la praeërie,
Et le chapplë horrible et dure l'escremie;
Bretons en ont du pire, ne vous mentiré mie,
Car deux d'eulx en sont morts et trespassés de vie
Et trois sont prisoniers,—Dieu leur soit en aÿe!
Plus n'a que vingt et cinq en bataille fournie.
Beaumanoir les conforte, o la chière hardie,
Et Geffroy de la Roche requist chevalerie,
Ung escuier moult noble de grant assessourie,
Et Beaumanoir lui donne, ou nom Saincte Marie,
f. 6*v*. Et luy a dist, "Beau filz, si ne t'oublie mie;
Remembre toy de cil qui, pour chevalerie,
Fust en Constentinnoble en belle compaignie."

[BIGOT MS]

Et Giuffroy jure Dieu, qui tout a em baillie,
Que Englois la comperront ains l'oeure de complie.
Et Bomcbourc l'entendy, ne le prise une aillie,
Trestoute leur posté ne leur grant seigneurie;
Ains dit à Biaumanoir par moult grant estoutie,
"Rent toy tost, Beaumanoir, je ne t'ochiray mie,

Mais je feray de toy un present à m'amie,
Car je luy ay promis, ne luy mentiray mie,
Qu'au jour d'uy te mectray en sa chambre jolie."
Et Beaumanoir respont, "Je le te sourenvie;
Nous l'entendon moult bien, moy et ma compaignie,
S'il plaist au roy de gloire et à Sainte Marie,
f. 56r. A Saint Yves le bon, en qui moult je me fie.
Or giete tost le dé et sy ne te faing mie;
Sur toy sera hazart, courte sera ta vie."

XXIX

Alain de Carromois si l'a bien entendu
Et luy dit, "Glout trichierre, qu'est ce que pensez tu?
Penses tu amoïr homme de tel vertu?
Le mien corps te deffie au jour d'uy de par lu;
Mointenant te ferray de mon glayve esmoulu."
Alain de Carromois l'oust à present feru
Par devant de sa lance dont le fer fu agu,
Que par my le visage, sy que chacun l'a veu,
Jusques en la cervele lui a le fer (em)battu.
Il estendy son glaive si que Bomcbourc est cheu;
Il sailli sur lez piés et cuida joindre à lu.
Messire Giuffroy de Bouès si l'a bien congneü,

Et le fiert d'une lance sy qu'il l'a aconcheu;
Et Bomcbourc chaÿ mort à la terre abatu.
Sy s'escria le(z) Bouez, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu?

De cestu es (tu) vengié; il giest mort estendu."
Et Beaumanoir respont, que bien l'a entendu,
"Seigneurs, combatés fort; le temps en est venu!
Pour Dieu, allez aus aultrez et si laissez cestu!"

330, Giuffroy] je; 331, comperront] comperrront; 354, estendy] estemdy.

[Didot MS]

Et Geffroy jure Dieu, qui tout a en baillie,
Angloix le comparront ains l'eure de complie.
Mais Brambroc l'entendist, ne le prise ung aillie,
Ains dist à Beaumanoir par moult grant estourdie,
"Rens toy tost, Beaumanoir, et ne te tueré mie,
Soyés sur et certain que ne te fauldré mie;
Mais je feré de toy ung presant à m'amye.
Je te luy ay gréé, ne luy mantiré mie,
Et te dy haultement ceste bataille envie."
Et Beaumanoir respont, "Et je la sourenvie;
Nous la tendrons moult bien, moy et ma compaignie,
S'il plaist au roy des roys, qui naquist de Marie,
Et au tres bon Sainct Yves, en qui bien je me fie.
Gette bien tost les detz et si ne te faing mie;
Sur toy sera hasart, courte sera ta vie."

XXIX

Alain de Keranrais Brambroc a entendu
Et luy a dist, "Glouton, que est ce que dis tu?
Pensé[s] bien avoir homme qui est de tiel vertu?
Le mien corps te deffie en ce jour de par lu;
Maintenant sentiras mon glaivë esmoulu!"
Alain de Keranrais l'a en present feru
Par devant de sa lance dont le fer fust agu,

Jusques à la cervelle il a son glaive batu.

Brambroc lors saillist sus et cuida joindre à lu;
Messire Geffroy du Bois si l'a bien actendu,
Le vaillant homme et noble, qui fust de grant vertu,
Et le fiert de sa hache qui luy rompist le bu.
Et Brambroc chet tout mort à [la] terre estandu.
Puis s'escrie le bon, "Beaumanoir, où es tu,
Mon cher cousin germain, à qui Dieu doint salu?
f. 7r. De cest es tu vengé car il est abatu."
Et Beaumanoir respont, qui l'a bien entendu,
"Pensés de biën faire car le temps est venu;
Pour Dieu alés ès aultres, laissés meshuy cestu!"

377, il a] la.

[BIGOT MS]

XXX

Or voient bien Englois que Bomcbourc est passés,
(Et) l'orguel de lui cheü et lez grandes fiertés.
Lors appelle Crucart, un Alement devés,
"Segneurs, saichiés de vray, en fine veritez,
Failly nous a Bomcbourc qui cy nous a (a)menez;
Toux lez livrez Merlin, que il a tant amez,
Ne luy ont pas valu deulx deniers monnoiés;
Il gist gueule b[a]ée, [et] mort et enversés.
Je vous pry, beaulx seigneurs, faictez com gens membrez;
Tenez vous l'un à l'aultre estroitement serrés;
Cil qui vendra sur vous soit mort ou affolés."

f. 56*v*. Dieu! tant est Beaumanoir marry et courrouchiés,
S'ilz ne sunt departis à honte et à vieultez.
A yceste parole est Charuël levés
Et le vaillant Tritran, qui moult estoit blechiers,
Caron de Boscdegas, le preux et l'alosés;
Toux (trois) estoient prisonniers à Bomcbourc le devés;
Mais quant Bourcbourc fu mort ilz furent raquitez.
Chacun prent à (s)ses poings le bon branc acherez;
De ferir sur Englois ont bonnez volentez.

XXXI

Apres la mort Bomcbourc, le hardy combatant,
Fu grande la bataille et ly estour pesant,
Et le chapplë orible et merveilleux et grant.
Apres [y] demoura dam Crucart l'Alemant
Et Thomas Belifort y fu comme g(u)éant,—
Cil combatoit d'un mail d'achier qui fu pesant—
(Et) Huë de Carvalay sy en faisoit autant.
Messire Robert Canole, qui fu mal engingnant,
Et toux leurs compaignons et chacun ensuivant.
Alemans et Englois s'e[n] vont toux effroiant
Et dient, "Venjons Bomcbourc, nostre loial amant!
Metton toux à la mort, n'alon riens espargnant!
La journée sera nostre ains le soleil couchant!"
Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fu au vis devant,
Lui et sez compaignons que il parama tant;
Là commencha un chapple, moult cruël et (moult) dolent,

369, Merlin] Meslin.

[Didot MS]

XXX

Or voyent les Anglois que Brambroc est passés
Et l'ourgouil de luy chet, et la grande fiertés.
Adonc parla Contart, ung Al[e]ment devés,
"Seigneurs, saichés de vroy, c'est fine verités,
Failly nous a Brambroc qui cy nous a meinés;
Tous les livres Merlin, que il a tant aymés,
Ne luy ont pas valu ung denier monnoyés;
Il gist goule bayée, mort tout plat en ces prés.
Sy vous pry, bons Anglois, comme gents remembrés,
Tenés vous l'ung à l'aultre estroictement serrés;
Cil qui viendra sur nous, qu'il soit mort ou bleciés."
Ainsin le firent ilz comme gents bien senés.
Dieu! tant est Beaumanoir marry et courroucés
S'ilz ne sont departiz à honte et à viltés.
Et à ceste parolle est Charruël levés
Et le vaillant Tristan, qui ot esté blecés,
Caro de Bodegat, le preux et le senés;
Ceulx estoint prisoniers à Brambroc le devés;
Mais quant il estoit mort ilz furent aquittés.
Ceulx prindrent o les poings les brancs bien acierés;
De ferir sur Anglois ont bone vouluntés.

XXXI

Ampres la mort Brambroc, le hardy combatant,
Fust grande la bataille et ly estour pesant
Et le chapplë horrible et merveilleux et grant.
Pour Brambroc demoura dom Contart l'Alemant,
Thomelin Beliffart qui fust comme ung géant,—
Cil combatoit d'ung maill d'acier qui fust pesant—
Rippeffart, Cavalray, ceulx cy faisoint autant;
Messire Robin Crollés, qui fust mal engignant,
f. 7*v*. Et tous leurs compaignons et chascun ensuivant.
Alemans et Anglois s'en vont tous efforcent,
Disant, "Vengon Brambroc, nostre loyal amant!
Metton tous à la mort, n'alons nulz espargnant!
La journéë est nostre avant souleil couchant!"
Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fust bien au devant,
Luy et ses bons Bretons que il parayma tant,
Et commencza bataille, cruellë et pesant,

418, et] de.

[BIGOT MS]

Qu'(e) un quart de lieue entour en va retentissant
Des coupx, qui s'entredonnent sur leurs testez, moult grant;
Là mourru deux Englois et un bon Alemant
Et d'Ardaine de Rains, ly convert soudoiant,
Fu mort et abatu ens en pré verdoiant.
Aussy Giuffroy Poulart gesoit trestout dormant,
Et Beaumanoir blechié, le hardy combatant;
Se Jhesucrist n'en pense, le pere tout puissant,
f. 57*r*. Et d'un costé ne d'aultre nul n'en est eschapant.

XXXII

Grande fu la bataille et longement dura
Et le chapplë orrible et dechi et delà;
Ce fu (à) un semmedy que le soleil roia,
L'an mil trois cent cinquante, croie m'ent qui vouldra;
Le dimence d'apres, sainte eglise chanta
Letare Jherusalem. En yce saint temps là
Forment se combatoient, l'un l'autre n'espargna;
La chaleur fu moult grande, chacun sy tressua;
De sueur et de sanc la terre rosoya.
A ce bon semmedy Beaumanoir sy jeuna;
Grant soif oust le baron, à boire demanda.
Messire Giuffroy de Bouès tantost respondu a,
"Boif ton sanc, Beaumanoir, la soif te passera!
Ce jour aron honneur, chacun sy gaignera
Vaillante renoumée, ja blasmé(e) ne sera."
Beaumanoir le vaillant adonc s'esvertua;
Tel deul oust et tel yre que la soif luy passa.
Et d'un cost(r)é et d'aultre le chapple commensa;
Mors furent ou blechiez, gaieres n'en eschappa.

XXXIII

Forte fu la bataille et le chapple mortel
My-voie de Josselin et du chasteau (da) Pelmel.
Dedens un moult beau pré, séant sur un cenel,
Le chesne d'en My-voie, ainsi est son appel.
Le lonc d'un genestay qui estoit vert et bel,
Là furent lez Englois tretoux en un moncel,
Carvalay le vaillant, le hardy jovencel,

403, d'Ardaine de Rains] d'Ardaine da derains; 403, convert] conuett; 412, trois cent] ccc.

[Didot MS]

Que une lieue entour va tout restondissant,
Des coups qu'ilz s'entredonent là fut le son tres grant;
Lors mourust deux Anglois, pour voir, et ung Alment.

Beaumanoir fut blecié ou visaige devant
Et fust Geffroy Poulart abatu tout dormant;
Si Jhesucrist ne pense, le roy tout puïssant,
Ne d'ung cousté ne d'aultre ne va nul eschappant.

XXXII

Grande fut la bataille et longuement dura
Et le chapplë horrible et decza et delà;
Ce fut ung sabmedi que le souleil raya,
L'an mil trois cent cinquante, corrige qui vouldra,
Le dimenche devant que saincte eglise chanta
Letare Jherusalem. En icest sainct temps là

La chalour fut moult grande, chascun y tressuya,
Que le sang tout vermoil sur son corps desgoutta.
Quant soeff ot Beaumanoir, à boire demanda.
Messire Geffroy du Boys tantost respondu l'a,
"Boy ton sang, Beaumanoir, ta soiff te passera!
Ce jour est la journée que chascun gaignera
Honeur et renommée, ou definé sera."
Beaumanoir le vaillant adonc s'evertua;
Tiel deul eust et tiel ire que la soeff luy passa.
Et d'ung cousté et d'aultre la chapple commencza;
Trestous furent blecié, guaires n'en demoura.

XXXIII

f. 8*r*. Grande fut la bataille et le chapple mortel
Mye-voie de Jocelin à chasteau Ploeärmel.
Dedans ung moult beau plain, planté y à chenel,
Là fut doné maint coup de hache et de martel,

436, trois cent cinquante] cccl; 438, icest] itest; 446, s'evertua] se vertua.

[BIGOT MS]

Et Thoumas Belifort combatoit d'un martel,—
Cil qu'il ataint à coup dessus son hasterel
Jamais ne mengera de miche ne de gastel.
Beaumanoir lez regarde, à qui point n'en fu bel,
Moult grant deul a de voir devant luy tel jouël;
For(men)t fu desconforté, or luy aist Saint Michiel.
f. 57v. Messire Giuffroy de Bouèz, qui fu fort et ysnel,
Noblement le conforte com gentil demoisel
Et dit, "Gentil baron, voiez cy Charuël
[Et] Tintinlat le bon et Robin Raguenel
Guillaume de La Marche et Olivier Arel
Et Gui de Rochefort,—voiez son pennoncel.

N'y a cellui qui n'ait lance, espéë et coutel;
Toux pres sunt d'eulx combatre com gentil joëncel;
Encore feront eulx aux Englois doeul nouvel."

XXXIV

Grande fu la bataille, jamais tele n'orrés.
Forment se contenoient lez Englois aliëz;
Homme n'entre sur eulx ne soit mort ou blechiez;
Toux sunt en un moncel com si fussent liëz.
De Montauben Guillaume, le preux et l'alosés,
De l'estour est yssu et lez a regardez;
Grant courage lui print, le coeur lui est enflez,
Et jure Jhesucrist, qui en crois fu penés,
S'il fust sur un cheval bien monté à son grés,
Tretoux lez departist à honte et à vieultez.
Bons esperons trenchans lors caucha en ses piez,
Monta sur un cheval qui fu de grant fiertez
Et lors print une lance dont le fer fu carrez;
Semblant fist de fuïr, ly escuier membrez.
Beaumanoir le regarde, puis l'a aroissonnez,
Et dyt, "Amy Guillaume, qu'est ce que vous pensés?
Comme faulx et mauvais, comant, vous en allés?
A vous et à vos hoirs vous sera repreuchiez."
Quant Guillaume l'entent, un ris en a gettez;
A haulte vois parla que bien fu escoutez:
"Besoigniez, Beaumanoir, franc chevalier membrez,
Car bien besoingneray; ce sunt toux mes pensés."

454, Montauben] Mont auben; 466, courant] comant(?); 467, hoirs] hoirez.

[Didot MS]

Missire Geffroy du Boys, qui fut fort et isgnel,
Conforte Beaumanoir ou nom de Sainct Marcel
Et luy dist, "Noble sire, voyés cy Charruël,
Guillaume de la Marche et Olivier Arrel,
Et Tintiniac le bon et Robin Raganel
Et Guy de Rochefort,—voiez (cy) son panoncel—
Et Geffroy de la Roche, le chevalier nouvel.
N'y a cil qui n'aet lance, ou espée ou coutel;
Tous sont prests de combatre ou nom de jouvencel;
Encore seront ilz aux Anglois deul nouvel."

XXXIV

Grande fut la bataille, jamais telle n'orrés.
Fortement se tenoyent les Anglois aliés;
Tretous s'entretenoyent si come gents liés;
Homme n'entre sur eulx qui n'est mort ou bleciés.
Mais grandement les a Guillaume reguardés,

Celuy de Montauban, qui tant fust alosérs,
Et jure Jhesucrist, qui fut en croys pennés,
Que s'il fust à cheval bien monté à ses grés,
Il les despareroit à honte et à viltés.
Deus esperons poignans a chaussés en ses piés,
Monte sur ung cheval qui fut de grant bontés.

Beaumanoir le reguarde, qui l'a araisonnés,
Et luy a dist, "Guillaume, quelles sont voz pensers?
Comme faulx et traïstre, courant vous en alés;
A jamais en ta vie te sera reprouchés."
Et Montauban respont par moult tres grant fiertés
Et haultement parla, qui bien fut escoutés,
"Besoignés, Beaumanoir, franc chevalier menbrés,
Car je besoigneré; et telz sont mes pensers."

472 despareroit] dispararoit.

[BIGOT MS]

Lors broche le cheval par flans et par costés
Que le sanc tout vermeil en chaÿ sur lez prés.
f. 58*r*. Par lez Englois se boute, sept en a trebuchiez;
Au retour en a trois soubz lui agraventés.
A ce coup lez Englois furent esparpilliés;
Toux perdirent lez coeurs, c'est fine verités,
Qui veult y a choisy, prins et serementez.
Montauban hault parla quant lez a regardés.
"Montjoie!" s'escria, "barons, or y ferés!
Essoiés vous tretoux, frans chevaliers membrez,
Tintiniat le bon, le preux et l'alosés
Et Gui de Rochefort, Charuël l'amornez,
Tretoux nous compaignons, que Dieu croisse [en] bontez,
Vengiez vous dez Englois, tous à vo(u)s volentez!"

XXXV

Grande fu la bataille et li estour planier;
Tintiniat le bon estoit tout le premier,
Celluy de Beaumanoir, que l'en doibt renommer,
Que toux jours pour ce fait orra on de lui parler,
Dez Englois ont eü la force et lez po(o)stez.
Ly un sunt fiancié, ly aultre prisonnier;
Canole et Carvalay sy sunt en grant dangier
Et Thoumas Belifort n'y oust que courouchier
Et toux leurs compaignons, sans point de l'atargier.
Par l'(e) emprise Bomebourc, qui estoit fort et fier.
Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridele le guerrier,
H[u]ëllecoq son frere ne fait à oubliër,
Rippefort le vaillant et d'Illande le fier
Au chasteau Josselin sunt menés sans targier.
Et pour ceste bataille orrois souvent parler,
Car l'en soit lez vieulx dis et tout par roumander,
Ly uns par lettre escripte ou painte en tappichiés,
Par trestoux lez roiaulmez qui sunt de chi la mer:
Et s'en vouldront esbatre maint gentil chevalier
Et mainte noble dame qui moult a le vis cler,
Comment l'en soit d'Artus et de Charlez le ber,
f. 58*v*. De Guillaume au cornair, Roulant et Olivier;
De cy à trois cens ans en vouldront roumander
(De) la bataille dez trente qui fu faicte sans per.

479, Montauban] Mont auban; 489, toux] tour.

[Didot MS]

Lors heurta le cheval par flancs et par costés,
f. 8*v*. Que le sang tout vermoil en sailloit par les prés.
Ampres print une lance dont le fer fust carrés;
Par Anglois se bouta, sept en a trebuschés;
Au retour en a trois et liëtz à ses detz.
A ce coup les Anglois furent desconfités.

[BIGOT MS]

XXXVI

Grande fu la bataille, certez n'en doubtez mie;
Englois sunt desconfis, qui vouldrent par envie
Avoir sur lez Bretons posté et seigneurie;
Mais tretout leur orgueil tourna en grant folie.
Sy pry à celluy Dieu, qui nasqui de Marie,
Pour toux ceulx qui furent en celle compaignie,
Soient Bretons ou Englois,—partout Dieu en deprie,
Au jour de jugement que dampnez ne soient mie,
Saint Michiel, Gabriël, ce jour leur soit (en) aïe;
Or en ditez, "amen," tretoux, que Dieu l'octrie!

Cy fine la bataille de trente[1] Englois et de trente[2] Bretons qui fu faite em Bretaigne, l'an de grace mil trois cens cinquante, le semmedy devant letare Jherusalem.

519, octrie] octroie.
[1] trente] xxx; [2] trente] xxx.

[Didot MS]

XXXV

Grande fut la bataille en my la prayërie;
Mercy au roy des roys, qui nacquist de Marie;
Anglois sont desconfitz, qui vouloyent par lourdie
Avoir sur les Bretons puissance et seignourie;
Mais toute leur pensée tourna en grant follie.
Si prie celuy Dieu, qui tout a en baillie,
Pour tous ceulx qui y furent, pour yceulx le deprie,
Qu'ilz ayent de paradis la pardurable vie;
Au jour du jugement que dampnés ne soint mye.
Sainct Michel, Gabriël, leur soyés en aÿe;
Or en dirons "amen," chascun que Dieu l'ottrie!
Explicit la bataille de trante.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

D2, *baneretz chevaliers;* **B2**, *bannerois bachelers.* The term *bannerets* was ordinarily used with *chevaliers* to indicate a *chevalier* of some distinction. In turn *chevalier* is of greater distinction than *bacheler.* Cf.:

> "L'ordre de banneret est plus que chevaliers,
> Comme apres chevalier acconsuit bachelier."
> —*Les chevaliers bannerets* (Pièces rel. à l'histoire de France, XII, 437).

A *chevalier banneret* was one "qui avait assez de vassaux pour en composer une compagnie et lever bannière" (cf. Godef. Supp.). On *banneret*, cf. *Romania* XXXII, 181–84 (A. Thomas). The word is first used in the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* (ed. Salmon, sec. 1242). The *bacheler* were a younger and secondary degree of knighthood (cf. Lacroix, *La Vie Militaire*, p. 48). It is surprising to see the expression *bannerois bachelers*, though Gautier (*La Chevalerie*, Paris, 1884, p. 192) quotes illustrations from the *Charroi de Nîmes* (23–25) and *Parise la Duchesse* (1522) to show that a *bachelier* might also be a *chevalier.* Cf. also W. A. Stowell in *Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott*, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. I, pp. 225–36.

B4.—*menestreëlx:* Picard form for *menesterelx.*

DB7.—*vroye, vraie:* Bartsch avoids hiatus of feminine *e* in *histoire* by writing *veraye.* However, hiatus is fairly common in the *Bataille.*

—*clergons, clarjons.* According to Godefroy (q.v.) the word is still used in Poitou in the sense of "choir boy."

D17.—*raison vous vueil rendre:* MS has *tendre* but *rendre raison* is found as late as the seventeenth century (cf. Pascal, *Pensées*, X, ed. Havet; Corneille, *Sertorius*, V, 2).

D20.—*ammes;* MS *am̃es.* This sign (–), used by the Didot scribe, invariably indicates *m* when placed over a vowel before *m.* The form *ammes* occurs in a document of 1268 of Chaumont (Loir et Cher); cf. Godefroy, Supp. s.v.

B20.—*quer* (QUA RE) in accented position. Schwan-Behrens (8th ed. sect. 52, 1, *a*) calls *quer* a crossing of *quare* and *que.*

BD21.—Bartsch writes *du siecle devië*, which receives justification as *devié* (DEVITARE). In both MSS it is 2 syl. (cf. *oublié* [OBLITARE] D27, B28). The couplet in *-ie* (B22–23) does not belong in the laisse. B23 is not in D and seems an interpolation. The correct reading is undoubtedly that of D, thus removing all inconsistency in the laisse.

DB22.—*Aulray, Auray.* In Breton, *Abrac;* today chef lieu of canton, dépt. Morbihan, arr. L'Orient. According to Le Baud, the founder was King Arthur.

D24.—*certen.* A Francian form (cf. Metzke, 65, p. 59) Bartsch alters to *certein.*

B26.—*menues gens de ville* is impossible, for the article is needed and even as it stands the hemistich makes *menues* dissyllabic. D26 is correct. *Gens* here "personnes"; cf. other examples in Godefroy, s.v.

D28—B29.—*pour luy demouré:* i.e., "has remained in his place." The idiom *demourer pour qqn.* is used in the fourteenth century as *se porter garant pour qqn.* (cf. Godefroy for examples from Froissart and *Perceforest*). The sense in the

text seems not so much the idea of going bail for Daggeworth as that of standing in his place to make good his promises.

D31.—*Ploeärmel* (Lat., *Plamelium*), mod. *Ploërmel*, Breton, *Plou-Arthmael*. The city honors as its founder St. Arthmael, an Anglo-Saxon monk, who traversed Bretagne on his way to the court of King Childebert. *Plou*, "people" (Breton) (cf. A. J. C. Hare; *Northwestern France*, London, 1904, p. 223, note). B writes *Pelmel* incorrectly. The word is always three syllables in Froissart (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, III, 368; IV, 166; V, 289, 292, etc., and in the *Livre du bon duc Jehan*, ll. 946, 3757, ed. Charrière.

D35—B36.—*messire:* two syllables; cf. D150, 187, 191, 380, etc.; B108, 146, 150, 293, etc.; *sire* is also found as a monosyllable, D328; but dissyllabic, B72, 236.

Jehan: here dissyllabic as in D328 (cf. Reis, *Die Sprache des Livre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne*, Erlangen, 1903, p. 14); as a monosyllable, D191; B150, 293, 495. Both *sire* and *messire* are terms of respect, the latter being used only with nobles of highest rank (cf. Stowell, *Old French Titles of Respect*, Baltimore, 1908, pp. 202 and 221).

veoir, seurté: the pretonic *e* has no metrical value. It begins to disappear about this time, though diaeresis is found in the poems of Christine de Pizan (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, July, 1908).

D37.—*chetiffz:* a final *v* becomes *vf* and is written *ff* in the west. Examples of this are frequent in the *Livre* (cf. *brieff*, 14, 986, 1514; *chetiffs*, 3454; *neuff*, 658, etc.). According to Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 30) these doubled consonants were pronounced. Cf. also in the *Bataille*, *beuffs*, 40; *soutiff*, 74.

D39.—*ainsin:* this form is attested by rime in the *Livre* (cf. ll. 359, 583, 1201, etc.). The nasal pronunciation was long current as attested by Baïf and H. Estienne (cf. Thurot, II, 498 and Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 47). Bartsch wrote *ainsi*.

B39.—*en chesp;* MS *un chesp*. Buchon and Crapelet also correct to *en*.

D46.—*de ceulx* (?), B47, *de quoy* is the correct reading.

D48—B49.—*aré, eré:* the feminine *arée* is more common = *terre labourée*, i.e., "ploughed land." Cf. "de opere rurali, id est *arato* vel vinea vel sectione, messione." . . . . Du Cange, *Glossaire*, I, 353. Prof. Foerster in *ZrP*, XXIX, 4 ff., quotes this passage and says "kann nur Ackerland, Acker, bedeuten." Cf. also G, Paris, *Romania* XIII, 130.

D49.—*flayeul: eul* for *el* is regular in the northwest, e.g., QUALEM *queu* with corresponding fem. *queule*. Cf. *Vocabulaire du Haute-Maine*, quoted by Goerlich, Rom. Stud., V. 17.

D50b.—It is possible that the scribe confused with the idiom *avoir costume*. B51 has the smoother reading.

D52.—Bartsch interpolates *il* unnecessarily.

D56.—Bartsch writes *se* for *sy;* both MSS are plain.

DB57.—*Saint Mahé:* "ville et abbé de Finistère à la pointe Saint-Mathieu," mentioned also by Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, l. 18720 and in *Roman d'Aquin*, l. 2153 (ed. F. Jouon des Longrais, Nantes, 1880, in Soc. d. Bibliophiles bretons).

D59.—*haut:* Bartsch writes *baut* (!)

D67—B66.—Proverbs of similar tenor on boasting are to be found listed by A. Kadler (*Ausg. u. Abhand.*, XLIX, 84–85). Cf. D76–77.

D72—B71.—The combat is thus to determine who is in the *right*, not who is the stronger. That it was so intended is confirmed by the mass attended by the Bretons (cf. D229, B190); one notes the omission of this act on the part of the English. Whether the author makes this omission intentionally, to give us the idea that the latter did not receive the blessing of God, cannot be said. Such masses were usually said before judicial combat (cf. L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 42–44).

D73–106.—Laisse V of D is omitted from B. It contains exactly 33 lines, the regular number contained in a page of B, so that the scribe has evidently omitted one page in copying, or, it may be, he copied from a MS which omitted it. The correspondance of D and B begins with D107—B73; B72, which contains Brambro's acceptance, is not found in D and may be an interpolation by the scribe who was conscious of a lacuna.

D78.—*Pierres Angier:* the man and the event referred to have not been identified. The chronicles contain no mention of them or of a place named *Ambissat* (l. 81). D'Argentré (*op. cit.*, p. 299) calls him "Pierre Bigier" and the place "Boussac"; a town of this name is in Ille-et-Vilaine (arr. St. Malo).

D85.—Bartsch writes *grans*.

D91.—I have preferred to write this line *vueillē ayder* rather than *vueille aȳder* as cases of undoubted hiatus in the poem are sufficiently frequent to justify it; *aide* (B185) is undoubtedly to be written without diaeresis and likewise in D114 if we write *qu(e) il* there. Still we find *aide:subside* in the fifteenth century (cf. Godefroy, s.v.) and according to Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 14) *a*+*i* is frequent in the *Livre* both as one and two syllables. Cf. *pais* (DB30).

D100.—*abatre: tt* simplified to *t*. The process is frequent in the *Livre* (cf. *batre*, ll. 507, 508, 1133).

D103.—*ordrenner:* Bartsch writes *ordenner*.

———*Jocelin;* dept. Morbihan, arr. Ploërmel. The place owes its name to the castle built by Jocelin de Porhoët and is mentioned by Froissart (ed. K. de Lettenhove, XXIV, 385).

B72.—*je le vous fiant: t* for *ts(z)*.

D108.—Bartsch writes *loyaulmens;* MS has *loyaulmēt*.

———Bartsch has *feroint: seroint*.

D110.—Bartsch writes *'doutz* (douze). The MS reading is plain and the emendation does not improve the sense.

D110–112.—These important lines are lacking in B and give the justification for Guillaume de Montauban's seemingly unknightly act (cf. D470–489; B454–476) which brought about the discomfiture of the English. This matter provided material for discussion for the historians, none of whom, till recently, were acquainted with the Didot version (cf. Pitre-Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 385; also La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 514, n. 5).

D113—B76.—Both MSS corrupted, D badly so: *voit* (B), *voint*<VINCIT; cf. *Vers de la Mort*, ed. Wulff and Walberg, Str. 25, 11.

D114.—Bartsch writes *Qu'il en* as in B77.

B82–83.—D has much the smoother reading for this passage. For the phrase *mestier n'y a celée*, cf. *Florence de Rome*, ll. 1662, 3731, 4945.

B86.—*demourance* (MS *doubtance*, which makes the hemistich one syl. short); cf. D124; the copyist was misled by B92.

B93a.—Is hypermetric; D132 probably represents the correct reading.

B94.—*Plaisance.* The particular town cannot be identified. Froissart mentions three places of this name, none of which seems likely to be the Plaisance of the *Bataille* (cf. *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, IX, 550; XVIII, 368; XVIII, 463). It may be noted that the name is a common one in the *Dict. des Communes* by Gindre de Mancy. No less than six are located in the west: (1) Loire-Inférieure; (2) Loiret; (3) Loiret; (4) Loiret; (5) Maine-et-Loire; (6) La Manche.

B95 ff.—F.: reads very roughly and is probably corrupt; the Didot version is much clearer and more satisfactory. B95 reads *barons*, which may be due to the influence of B102. The rime requires *bacheliers* as in D134.

D129.—Bartsch reads *moult grande.*

D132.—If the line is correct we have a case of the loss of final feminine *e* after two consonants in *royaulme.* Such a loss is without parallel in the *Bataille.* Possibly B represents the correct reading here. Bartsch reads *el royaulme.*

B103.—*pren* [*dray*]: cf. B114.

B106.—*Y[v]on*; MS *Yon.* For the oblique case, cf. Cuvelier, *Bertrand*, l. 13784. Crapelet suggests *Huon;* D has *St. Symon.* But St. Yves was a popular Breton saint who died at Lohanec, May 19, 1303 (cf. Benjoy, *La vie de St. Yves, tirée d'un ms. sur vélin du XIV^e. siècle*, St. Brieuc, 1884. reviewed in *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, XLVI [1885]); cf. also D368; B342.

D138.—*ransczons: cz* for *s* is common in the northwest, particularly after a nasal (cf. *Livre*, l. 85; D426, 435, 449). See also Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

D147.—*Guillaume de la Lande:* confusion with the squire of that name; cf. D177.

B107.—*Boscdegas, Bodegat* (D146). MS has *Bosc de Gas* (as also Buchon). The Picard scribe was unfamiliar with the name and confuses with the Picard doublet of *bois* which is *bos(c).*

B108.—*Bouès;* D, *Boys;* Buchon, *Boves;* Crapelet, *Bones.* MS writes *u* plainly. The meter demands monosyllabic value; *e=ai* here. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 36, states that the name is written *Bouais* by some members of the family.

B115b.—Two syllables short; cf. D155 for correct reading.

D157.—*Keranraes* for *Keranrais* (Bartsch, *Carramois);* *ae* for *ai* is frequent in the west before a strong sibilant; cf. *faesmes* (D68), *faescons* (D219); also *Livre*, 1545, 1547, 2603, etc. (Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

D159.—*leurs;* MS has *le^z.* This abbreviation stands for both singular (cf. D189) and plural; I write *leurs* on the authority of D179, where the word is written out.

B118.—*Loïs Guion;* MS *Lors;* Crapelet, *Lors;* Buchon, *Loïs.*

D163—B122.—*bonté, Brice.* D has a clearer reading (*bonté* here "bravery"; cf. *Ren. de Montauban*, in Bartsch-Horning, p. 63, l. 124). De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 46, mentions an Eudes de la Roche (also named Budes and qualified as *bon pere*) who as crusader accompanied Baudouin, count of Flanders, to the siege of Constantinople and to Greece, in 1204. Members of the la Roche family occur as dukes of Athens in the thirteenth century. This traditional association with Baudouin may have led the Picard scribe to assume a connection. Beaumanoir also refers again to Geoffroy's father (cf. D353, B328).

D164—B123.—Bartsch writes *Constentinoble.*

D165—B124.—The completion of the condition (B126), which is not found in D, is responsible for the change of tense. It is impossible to say whether the original contained this condition.

B125.—*dont:* the old subjunctive: a stereotyped phrase (cf. *Schwan-Behrens*, Sec. 353); note also *gart* (B143).

D174—B134.—*luy:* in laisse with *mercy*, etc. In the fourteenth century *luy* was often pronounced *li* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram. d. frz. Spr.*, Sec. 265).

B128.—*Trisguidy:* the second hemistich is two syllables short in MS (cf. D168 which has the correct reading). *Trézéguidy* is the proper form; cf. Introduction, II.

B129.—*Pontblanc:* this is the proper form of the name (cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 235; De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 50; D. Lobineau, *op. cit.*, X, 98 (p. 343).

B130.—The historians agree on the form *Du Parc.*

D171—B131.—*Beaucours: Beaucorps*, both forms of the name are known; cf. Introduction, II.

D172.—*Villong:* the *g* emphasizes the pronunciation of *n* together with a guttural (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

D176–77.—The second hemistichs are reversed from the order in B136–37.

B142.—Neither hemistich is metrically correct, probably on account of the scribe's carelessness (cf. D183).

D185.—*encontre:* MS has *honte* which is repeated from the preceding line. Possibly we should also read *tele* for *male* as in B144.

B144.—*envoit:* so also Bartsch (l. 185). The old subjunctive again as demanded by the following line. Crapelet notes, "*avoit . . . . envoie.*" We might also read *a[n]voit.*

D188—B147.—*tart: avoir tart*—"il m'est besoin." It will be remembered that Brambro was short of men since he had to fill up his number with Germans and Bretons.

D189.—*Je ne sçay pas leurs noms.* A seeming contradiction, for the author proceeds to enumerate them, although very inaccurately. B148 is much more to the point.

D190.—*Conchart* for *Crucart* (B149). This may be an attempt of the author to twist Crucart's name into an epithet. Cf. *Contart*, D391, 413; also *Huceton le contart* (D205); *conchié=dupe* (*Roman de la Rose*, Bartsch, *Chrest.* St. 61, l. 149).

D192—B151.—*Huëlcoc:* metrically three syllables. Both lines are incorrect metrically in the MS. It is accepted that *Helecoq* (or *Huelcoc*) was the brother of

Redoure (*Ridele*); cf. De Courcy (*op. cit.*, p. 65); La Borderie (*op. cit.*, p. 515) although D. Morice (*op. cit.*, p. 236) apparently indicates the contrary. We should perhaps emend by placing *et* at the beginning of both lines and also begin the second hemistich with *et* as in B. The name occurs again in B497 where a similar change is necessitated by the meter. The scribe may well have omitted the connective which occurs several times in the passage. *Huëlcoc* (*Helecoq, Hillecoq*)—*Huë le Coq* (?).

D195.—*marc:* should probably read *quart* as in B154. Godefroy cites *marc* as a weight of 8 oz., serving to weigh gold and silver.

D197.—*Huëlcoq:* should read *Huceton*. The scribe has confused the line with l. 192. Cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

B159–160.—*Agappart—Renouart.* B. also mentions other characters of the old French epic in ll. 506–7. Langlois (*Table des noms propres*) cities four of the name Agappart. The combat referred to here is recorded in *Aliscans* (ed. Guessard), pp. 180–84. *Renouart* or *Renouart au tinel*, the son of Saracen king *Desramé* (in *Aliscans*); baptized, he fights by the side of Guillaume d'Orange against the Saracens.

D200.—*Renequin Helcart;* the second hemistich is short one syllable. Possibly the *Herouart* of B (cf. D. Morice *et al.*) is the correct reading.

B168.—*liespart:* 2 syl., if *fu* is correct. We may read as in D206, but the word is found both as 2 syl. and as 3 syl. in the fourteenth century (cf. forms like *liëpart, lepart, lipart*, in E. Deschamps, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, X, 76). The *s* is unetymological.

D207—B169.—*St. Lenart, St. Godart.* The most famous saint named *Lenart* was the hermit of Micy who founded the monastery of Noblac (Nobiliacense) in Limousin, four miles from Limoges. He died 559 (?), Saint's Day, November 6. (Cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, Paris, 1907.) He preached the gospel in central France (Berry). There are also three other saints from this locality (cf. Wetzer-Welte, *Katholisches Kirchenlexikon*, 2d ed., art. "Leonhard"): (1) of Vandreuve (Vendoperense), bishop of Le Mans (day, Oct. 15); (2) of Dunois, honored in bishopric of Blois (day, December 8); (3) abbot of Celles in Berry (day, December 30). St. Leonard of Vandreuve is probably the one in the author's mind, but very likely these various personages were more or less blended into one in the popular conception. *St. Godard*, bishop of Rouen, b. *ca.* 490, d. 525 (day, June 8). He is the natural saint for a Picard scribe to have in mind. Cf. Bolland, *Bib. hag. lat.* (1899), p. 527. His life is found, *Gildardi Vita*, in *Analecta Bollandiae*, Bruxelles, Vol. VIII (1889), pp. 393–402.

D209.—*Dagorne:* a scribal error for *d'Ardaine* (D206).

B173—D212.—*Dynart:* com. of Saint-Enogat (Ille-et-Vilaine), 4 km. from St. Malo.

D213.—*moult* for *maint* (B174).

D224.—*santismes;* $a+i$ element $=a$. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21, quotes similar instances from Anjou, in which he sees only the learned influence. As for the use of the plural form, see K. Tolle, *Das Betheuern u. Beschwören in d. altröm. Poesie*, Erlangen, 1883, pp. 28–29.

D228—B189.—*lu, luy:* the *luy* of B is equivalent to *lu* of D despite the spelling.

D232.—*oultrage:* is the MS reading. But cf. 296, 301.

D238—B199.—*le duc debonaire*, i.e., Charles de Blois.

D239—B200.—*la franche duchesse*, i.e., Jeanne de Penthièvre, daughter of Gui de Bretagne.

D248—B209.—*livres:* Ainsworth, *Bentley's Miscellany*, V, 446, refers to these as an illustration of illiteracy on Brambro's part and suggests that they are probably mystical characters (!). These are the prophecies ascribed to Merlin and inserted by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the *Historia Regum Brit.* (cf. A. de la Borderie, *Les véritables prophéties de Merlin; examen des poèmes bretons attribués à ce barde*, Paris, 1883; rev. by G. Paris, *Romania*, XII, 375–76 who doubts the authenticity of those which Borderie accepts). The first redaction was of 1135. Geoffrey's work was continued by different persons at various times and enjoyed great popularity, particularly in the fourteenth century. Cf. Ward, *Cat. of Rom. in Brit. Mus.*, I (1883), pp. 278–344. A Cambridge MS mentioned by P. Meyer (*Ro.*, XV, 295) is ascribed to the time of Edward III, and relates to the times of Henry III and his successors. It begins, "Ici comence alcunes de les propheties des merveilles de Merlin, dit en soun temps de Engleterre, etc." On Merlin and his alleged prophecies cf. also Brugger, *ZffzSL*, XXX, 210; W. E. Mead, *Merlin*, 2 vols., E.E.T.S., London, 1899, pp. xlv.–xlix.; Lucy A. Paton, *PMLA*, XXII, 234–76; Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, *Harvard Studies*, X. Mentions in contemporary literature are frequent (cf. E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, I, 106, 20; II, 33, 222; VI, 185; XIII, xiii.; also Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, ed. Charrière, ll. 3286–87, 3427, 6772, 10089.

D254.—*n'auront ung pié d'avis;* **B215.**—*pié n'y en demourra vis.* The second hemistich in both MSS is evidently corrupted and presents difficulty which I am not able to solve with certainty. I am unfamiliar with an idiom *pié d'avis* and can find no parallel for it. *Avis*, meaning "opinion," etc., is regularly spelled *advis* by the scribe of D (cf. 260, 274). The scribe of B was not familiar with the expression since he altered it to give the meaning "not a man will remain alive," in which *pié*="man," a figurative sense that is found in Froissart (cf. *onques piés n'en escapa*, Oeuvres, ed. K. de Lettenhove, IV, 306; *jamais piés n'en retournera*, *ibid.*, V, 46; XI, 160). *Ne . . . . pié* exists as a negative construction (cf. *Godefroy*), though apparently not with *ung* as in D. A possible solution is to read *de vis* for *d'avis*. The sense of Brambro's speech would then be "have not a chance of living" (i.e., being conquered, their lives would be forfeited unless Edward saw fit to put them to ransom. The meaning then agrees with B. Cf. also *Guardez seignurs, que il n'en algent vif*, Roland, 2061.

B228.—*Des c'on f[e]ist (em) bataille;* MS *desconfist.* The line is lacking in D possibly because it was already corrupt and the scribe omitted it for that reason. Brambro could hardly call Beaumanoir "discomfited *in battle*" before any battle had been fought. The emendation gives the sense "as soon as a battle was to be fought, you did not come at all to the scratch," an effective taunt. For the idiom, *faire bataille*, cf. *Rol.* 3336; *f[e]ist* is monosyllabic, as similarly in the *Livre.* cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

D271—B233.—*Le roy de Saint Denis*, i.e., the king of France, so styled by the English who maintained Edward III's title to the throne (cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 519, n. 2). Still, this title was also used by the French themselves, as Bertrand's speech shows (cf. Cuvelier, *Bert. du Guesclin*, I, 238; II, 285).

D275.—*liée:* should possibly be replaced by *membrée* as in B237; yet *liée* may also be kept as the expression was one used in Francian and may be used either with or without reduction. *Liée* is regular in the west, though the *Livre* has both *lie* and *liée* in rime and so also *aillie* (cf. D357, B332) which Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 40, explains as due to the fact that it is used in common expression. Otherwise the reduction of *iée* to *ie* is not found either in the *Bataille* or in the *Livre*.

D279.—*digés:* an odd form. Dottin et Langouet, *Gloss. du Parler de Pléchâtel* (Canton de Bain, Ille-et-Vilaine), Rennes et Paris, 1901, give the modern pronunciation as *dizié*. Guill. de St. Andre, *Livre* 1302 has *diēz*.

B246.—*de chi la mer salée*, i.e., in France. Charruel is the best warrior of the Breton party ("on this side the salt sea"), as distinguished from the English.

D286.—*Anorée;* **B249.**—*Homourée.* Chevalier, *op. cit.*, lists three saints Honorata: (1) the patroness of Bar-sur-Aube (fifth century); (2) martyred at Carthage, February 11, 304; (3) of Pavia, d. January 11, 500. Apparently none of these have any significance to western France. It is quite possible that there may be a confusion here with St. Henore, or Anora as La Borderie calls her, who is famous in Brittany. She was the wife of an Irish prince who came to Brittany in the early part of the sixth century and who is known as St. Efflam. Their shrine is at Plestin (Côtes-du-Nord). Chevalier quotes a work upon her, viz., Miorcec de Kerdanet, *Notice sur S^e. Honore de Lesneven*, Brest, 1853. For the romantic story of Efflam and Anora, see La Borderie, *op. cit.*, I, 361–62, and the *Vita S. Enflami*, in *Annales de Bretagne*, VII, 289.

D294.—*Voyez que dist Charruel:* meter correct if *Charruel* is dissyllabic, though regularly trissyllabic elsewhere in the poem (cf. 144, 283, 324, 403). B257 has the line metrically correct but *Voyez là* does not go well with the sense of the following lines. D probably represents the correct reading despite the metrical value of *Charruel*. Reductions of *U*+*I* to *U* are common in the N.W. dialects to the present day. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 57, gives illustrations from Anjou and Maine. They are frequent also as attested by rime in the *Livre* (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 43).

D296.—*de:* required by the sense. The *et* of the MS is probably a scribal error due to the *et* of the preceding line.

D300.—*gientz.* Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, calls attention to the readiness of *E* to become *IE* after *g* in the departments of Morbihan, Loire-Inférieure, and Côtes-du-Nord (no examples in Ille-et-Vilaine). A similar *i* appears after *c* in Anjou, Maine, and Berry.

B267–68.—*mie:* the repetition of the rime *mie* suggests an interpolation. The sense does not require these lines and they are wanting in D.

B275b.—Is hypermetric; cf. D313.

D321.—*non:* < (NECUNU)—"pas un." Godefroy quotes similar examples. *feble* (<FLEBILEM), *feible*, *feble*, not *foible*, as would be expected. Norman and Western French, cf. Schwan-Behrens, NO. 225A. The *l* of B287 is learned.

B295.—*piis* (PEJUS); monosyllabic. Cf. *pies, Rom. de Rou,* ed. Andresen 6937, 7289, and *peix, Greg. pap. Hom.* ed. Hoffman, p. 123. Cf. *Aliis,* Charte of Ille-et-Vilaine of 1294, Schwan-Behrens, p. 287.

D308–10—B271–72.—The names of some of the most important Breton families of the period and representative of the whole duchy. Save *Quintin,* the names occur frequently in Cuvelier and in the *Livre.* In the latter (ll. 427–28) Laval, Montfort, and Rohan occur together as leaders of the nobility. Gui X de Laval, Lohéac, Rohan, Tournemine, and Quintin are mentioned by Froissart among those who failed to join the banner of Montfort; Gui de Laval, Geoffroy de Tournemine and Jean de Quintin perished in the battle of La Roche Derrien in 1347 (cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, III, 327, 371). There are two Rohans in Brittany (1) of Finistère; (2) of Morbihan, of which the latter is undoubtedly meant. It is one of the oldest houses in France and was made a vicomté in 1100. *Rochan* (D309) is unusual and is possibly due to Rochefort (D308); only *Rohan, Rohen,* and *Roen* are found in Cuvelier and the *Livre.* The author of the *Bataille* is evidently suggesting a contrast between the noble families of Beaumanoir's party (and the loyalty of the great Breton families as well) and the crowd of *routiers* whom Brambro presents.

D331.—*paour:* as monosyllable, is found frequently in western texts (cf. *Livre,* 251, 821, 1220, etc., quoted by Reis, *op. cit.,* p. 14).

B297.—*(con)fondu:* the scribe wrote *feru* before *confondu* and later crossed it out; *feru* would have given a hemistich metrically correct but is impossible as it is the rime word in the next line.

D337.—*Et percié mainte lance: rompu* for *percié* as in B306 (?).

B311–317.—this *laisse,* missing in D, is important, as it contains the account of the rest and refreshment that the combatants took. It is not a later interpolation, for Jehan le Bel refers to the incident. It possibly existed in the MS from which the Didot scribe copied. *Laisses* XXVII and XXVIII of B begin in similar style, *Forte fu la bataille* and *Grande fu la bataille.* The scribe was probably misled by the similarity and proceeded with the following *laisse* without noting the omission. De Courcy, in his account of the battle (*op. cit.,* p. 11), on the authority of Jehan le Bel evidently, speaks of the two parties talking with each other pleasantly—a rather unnatural proceeding which is not borne out by the text of the *Bataille.*

B330.—*Et Giuffroy jure Dieu;* MS *Et je jure Dieu:* D gives the correct reading, for Geoffroy would be the one who would naturally take the oath.

B333.—The *prise* of 332 is to be understood as governing the line.

D360.—Does not occur in B and is probably an interpolation. The author is often hard put for rimes but the use of *mie* three times, almost in succession (359, 360, 362), is without parallel in the poem; moreover, it is in sense merely a repetition of 359.

D361—B336.—*amye:* this reminds us of Jehan le Bel's statement that the battle was fought for the sake of the ladies and it may be that this reference is his authority for the assertion. Brambro is probably referring to Jeanne de Flandres, countess of Montfort.

D365—B340.—*tendrons, entendon:* Beaumanoir is referring to the battle; the sense of D is preferable.

D369—B344.—*sur toy sera hazart. Hazart* was a technical throw of the dice and was generally considered a good one. See F. Semran, "Würfel u. Würfelspiel im alten Frankreich," in *ZrP*, Beih. 23 (1910).

D372—B347.—Apparently the scribe of D did not understand the passage. In B, Buchon and Crapelet both read *à avoir; amoïr* makes much the better sense (i.e., a verbal formation from *mutus*), "to make dumb" or "silence." Cf. Péan Gatineau, *Vie de St. Martin*, ll. 6655, 10167. L. 1572 has *amoï* in the sense of "made weak" (Lat. orig. *labefacti*); cf. T. Söderhjelm, *Die Sprache in dem afz. Martinsleben des Péan Gatineau aus Tours*, Helsingfors, 1906.

B352.—Is unnecessary; an interpolation (?).

D382.—*à [la] terre estandu:* MS reads without *la* which gives a case of hiatus. This sort of hiatus is found in the *Bataille*, but cf. B358.

D387.—*biën:* with diaeresis the hemistich is correct. This diaeresis of *ie* is found frequently in the *Livre*, e.g., *biëns*, 493; *tiën*, 309, etc. (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 13). We might possibly read *Or pensés*, etc.

B359.—*le(z) Bouez:* should read *le bon*(?). Cf. D383.

B360.—*De cestu es (tu) vengié:* we might read *De cest(u) es tu vengié* as in D385. But *cestu* is attested by rime (B363).

B365.—*fiertés:* the scribe wrote *fertés*, later inserting an *i* between *e* and *r*. *Fiertés* is his regular form (cf. 44, 51, 461).

B371b.—Cf. B100.

B378.—*blechiers:* Buchon alters to *blechiés* but Crapelet follows MS.

B387a.—*Apres y demoura;* D reads differently. For *y* cf. *Belifort y fu*, l. 388.

D428—B402.—*mourir:* in the transitive sense; Beaumanoir is the subject.

B403.—The line is badly corrupted in the MSS which reads, *Et d'Ardaine da derains, ly conuett soudoiant.* The *da* is evidently an error through which the scribe neglected to draw a line as he does in other cases (cf. l. 297). D'Ardaine came from Rennes (cf. *Introduction*, II); as for *conuett* it may be *convert*, i.e., "turncoat" (?) which accords well with the sense and would be a natural epithet for a supporter of the Blois party to apply to a Breton fighting on the other side.

B431–440.—Are omitted from D probably by carelessness. From D452 we infer that mention is about to be made of the oak of Mye-Voie; but instead of continuing, the scribe writes, "Là fut doné maint coup de hache et de martel," which is lacking in B.

B430–431.—The lines are very disconnected unless *fu* is inserted before *Le chesne*. The Oak of Mye-Voie became famous as the monument of the Bataille. It fell of old age at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was replaced by a cross called "La Croix de la Bataille des Trente." This cross, fallen in its turn, was raised in 1776 at the expense of the states of Brittany, was destroyed in the Revolution and replaced by an obelisk, raised July 18, 1819, the year of the Fréminville edition. Crapelet (*op. cit.*, pp. 69–110) and De Courcy (*op. cit.*, pp. 15–19) give a long account of the ceremonies on this occasion. An illustration of the monument of 1776 is given by D'Auvergne (cf. *Archeologia*, VI [1782],

p. 144) according to whom it was not a new monument but merely the restoration of an old one. The oak stood on a slight rise of ground and is represented in the frontispiece of De Courcy's work from the original illustration in the MS of Pierre Le Baud.

B433.—*moncel.* The *herisson* or *moncel* was the hollow square the English formed to resist attack. It was extremely efficient at Crécy and Poitiers.

D455.—*Sainct Marcel:* Wetzer-Welte (*op. cit.*, article "Marcellus") quote five saints of this name down to the fourteenth century. It may be St. Marcel, bishop of Paris, d. 436 (day, November 1); cf. Bolland, *Bibl. Hag. Lat.* (1900), p. 779. We have here probably a local trait, for St. Marcel was a little parish (mentioned in the *Dict. des Communes* as *Morbihan*, arr. *Vannes*), united in the fifteenth century to the parish of Bohal (cf. Abbé Luco, *Bull. soc. polymathique de Morbihan* [1876], 1st. Semester, p. 79). B reads *com gentil demoisel* and in B440 (not in D) *St. Michiel* is mentioned.

D457–458.—B interverts these lines.

B440a.—*For(men)t fu desconfité:* the scribe probably took *fort* as an abbreviation for *forment.*

B449.—*feront eulx:* the tonic form for the atonic. Bretagne and Maine show this dialectical peculiarity of *eulx* for conjunctive *ils* (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

B467.—*hoirs]hoirez;* Buchon, *hoirs;* Crapelet, *hoirez. Hoiers* is found as monosyllable in the *Livre*, 2986; as for the form *hoirs* in a Picard MS; cf. the Chartes of Pas-de-Calais of 1292 (Schwan-Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 250) and of St. Quentin (Aisne) of 1219 (*idem*, p. 256). The meter requires *hoirs* or possibly *hoiers* as in the *Livre.*

D488–489.—The gap in D represents the last of B, *laisse* XXXIV, and all of B, viz., 33 lines, equivalent to a page of MS. Apparently the scribe of D (or the scribe of his model) has made the same sort of omission as the B scribe who omitted *laisse* V of D.

D488.—*disconfités:* evidently the past participle of a verb *disconfiter* formed from the participle of the regular verb *desconfire.*

B480.—*Montjoie:* the old war cry of France, of uncertain origin, though it probably comes from *Mons Gaudii* rather than *Meum Gaudium* (G. Paris, *Romania*, XXXI, 417, note). The case is best summed up by J. Bédier (*Les Légendes Épiques*, Paris, 1908, II, 225–39) in connection with the passages in the *Roland* (3084–96 and 2501–11). *Montjoie* is first mentioned by Orderic Vital in describing a battle of 1119 (Bédier, *op. cit.*, 235, note).

B483.—*amornez;* Buchon, *aornés.*

B484.—*Dieu croisse [en] bontez:* though metrically correct, the sense demands *en.*

B506–7.—These characters, taken from the Old French epic, show the purpose of the author of the *Bataille* to imitate the epic style of composition. *Charles le ber*, i.e., Charlemagne; *Guillaume au cornair* is the hero of the Cycle d'Orange. He is called *Guillaume au cort nés* in *Aliscans; Guillaume au cornais* in the *Enfances Vivien* (cf. Langlois, *Table des Noms Propres*, art. "Guillaume d'Orange").

B518.—*Ce jour leur soit (en) aïe:* the rime of the *laisse* proves *aïe* trisyllabic.

VOCABULARY

(Note.—The vocabulary is not a complete list of all the words in the *Bataille*. Words whose form or sense do not differ from modern French are, in general, omitted The numbers refer to the lines; those numbers which are not preceded by letter refer to the Bigot MS; those with the letter D refer to Didot.)

achier, acier, v.a., achever; complete, fulfil. Pp. *achivé* D52 (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, §28).

accordance, s.f., accord; agreement. D125, *avons accordance*, we are agreed.

anchesourie, assessourie, s.f., ancienne et noble race; ancestry.

aconcheu, v. *aconsuivre*.

aconsuivre, v.a., atteindre; strike. Pp. *aconcheu* 357.

actendre, v.a., attendre; await. *actendron* D259. Pp. *actendu* D379.

admeine, v. *amener*.

adoncques, adv., alors; then.

adjournement, ajournement, s.m., jour fixe; set day.

advis, v. *avis*.

aet, v. *avoir*.

affoler, v.a., blesser; maim.

agraventer, v.a., abattre, écraser; beat down, crush. Norman and Picard patois have *cravanter* today in this sense (*Godefroy*).

aie, aye, s.f., aide; succor.

aillie (*ailliée*), s.f., ail; garlic.

ains, prep., avant; before.

ainsin, adv., ainsi; so.

aïst, v. *ayder*.

aloser, v.a., couvrir de gloire; glorify. Pp. *alosé*, estimé; esteemed.

ambler, v. *embler*.

amener, v.a., amener; bring along. Pres. ind. 3, *amaine* 207; *ameine* D246; fut. 4, *amerron* 216.

amme, s.f., âme; soul D20; *arme* 20.

amoïr, v.a., silencer; silence.

amornez, adj., morne, sombre; gloomy, forbidding. (From *amorner*=*se mortifier.—Godefroy.*)

ampres, apres, prep. and adv., après; after.

amouré, adj., affilé, aiguisée; pointed, sharpened. The *Dict. Général* distinguishes this word from the present nautical term, "Coin d'une basse voile fixé du côté d'où vient le vent."

an, en, on, pron., on; one. The indefinite pronoun *on* regularly appears as *l'en* or *l'an* in the N.W. dialects (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 75). In the unemphatic position following the verb we find *on* (cf. D77).

araisonner, aroisonner, v.a., adresser la parole; harangue.

aré, eré, s.m., terre labourée; fields. Still today in Anjou, "*on prononce la rée*" (Ch. Menière, *Glossaire étym. et compar. du Patois, angevin*, Angers, 1881, p. 36).

arrestezon (for *arrestison* or *arrestoison*), s.f., arrêt; delay. (For the form of the suffix, cf. Nyrop, *Gram. Hist.*, III, §281.)

assessourie, v. *anchesourie*.

ataindre, v.a., atteindre; strike. Pres. ind. 3, *ataint.*
atargier, v.n., tarder; delay.
au jour d'é, adv., aujourd'hui; today (210, D249). Cf. Introduction, V, i, 6.
auxi, adv., aussi; also.
avis, advis, s.m., avis; opinion; *avis* D254(?).
avoir, v.a., avoir; have. Ind. fut. 1, *auroy* D152; 3, *ara* 198, *aura* 237; 6, *aront* 319; pret. 3, *oust* D34, *ot* D33, *eust* D37; 3, *urent* 312, *ourent* 180; subj. pres. 3, *aet* D461, *ait* D288; 6, *aient* 52, *ayent* 51.
avoueltre, adj., illégitime; illegitimate D95. It is also possible that the author uses this word in the sense of *étranger, méchant, perverti*, which is its figurative value; cf. "E cumenzet a cultiver deus avuiltres e aürer," *Livre des Rois*, ed. Leroux de Lincy, p. 268, which is a translation of the Latin, "colueritis deos alienos."
ayder, aider, v.a., aider; ind. pres. 3, *aïst* 77.
bacheler, bachelier, s.m., jeune homme ou chevalier; young man or knight.
bacinet, bacynet, s.m., casque de fer très léger; light helmet.
baffier, s.m., moqueur; taunter.
baneret, bannerois, adj., ayant le droit de porter une banière; banneret.
barast (for *barat*), s.m., tromperie, fraude; deception, fraud.
barnaige, bernage, s.m., assemblée de barons; baronage.
bault, adj., joyeux; happy.
bayer, béer, v.n., bayer; gape (*béer* is the Picard form.—*Godefroy*).
belement, bellement, adv., gentiment; nobly.
beneichon, beneisson, s.f., bénédiction; blessing.
ber, s.m., baron; baron.
bernage, v. *barnaige.*
besoigner, besoignier, v.n., travailler; take care.
besser, v.a., diminuer; decrease.
beuff, bouef, s.m., boeuf; ox.
biau, adj., beau; fine, beautiful.
blechié, blecié, pp. of *blechier* (*blecier*), v.a., blesser; wound.
boire, v.a., boire; drink. Pp. *beü.*
boudie, v. *boydie.*
bouef, v. *beuff.*
bouter, v. refl., se jeter; cast oneself.
boydie, boudie, s.f., méchanceté, perfidie; malice, perfidy.
branc, s.m., épée; sword.
bu, s.m., tronc du corps; trunk (of the body).
caucher, v.a., chausser; to fasten on the feet.
cel, dem. pron., obl. case, *celuy;* as adj. D19.
celé, s.m. (for *lieu celé*); *en celé*+en cachette; in a dungeon.
cenel, s.m., canal; little stream.
centence, v. *sentence.*
certen, certein, certain, adj., certain, D24, 88, D253.
certeinement, adv., surement; certainly. (The groups *ai* and *ei* had the value *e* by the middle of the thirteenth century in the N.W.; cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 17.)
cest, pron. and adj., ce, celui; this, this one. Obl. masc. sg. *cest, cestu, cestuy, cetuy.*

chaillenge, v. *chalenger*.
chaindre, v.a., ceindre; gird on.
chaïr, v. *cheoir*.
chalenger, *chalonger*, *chaillenger*, v.a., challenger; challenge, defy. (The form with *ai* is unusual; cf. Schwan-Behrens, §87 (2) A.)
chapple, s.m., carnage, mêlée; slaughter, fight.
chenel, s.m., petit chêne; small oak.
cheoir, v.n., tomber; fall. Pret. 3, *chay* 358, *chet* D382; pp. *cheu* 354, *chet* D390.
chere, v. *chiere*.
chesp, *sep*, s.m., "morceau de bois emboitant les pieds des prisonniers"; stocks. (Cf. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes (1891), X, p. 20, and also G. Paris, *Romania*, XXX, 386.)
chetif, *chetiff*, adj. as subst., prisonnier; prisoner.
chi, v. *cy*.
chief, s.m., tête; head. *à chief de*, etc. (223, D262) = au bout de; at the end of.
chiere, *chere*, s.f., visage, mine; face, countenance.
clarjon, v. *clergon*.
cler, adj., clair; bright.
clergon, *clarjon*, s.m., petit clerc; little clerk.
colée, *collée*, s.f., coup; blow. (Still current today in Anjou, cf. Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 111.)
comparer, *comperer*, v.a., payer cher, expier; pay dear for, expiate (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 23).
compter, v.a., raconter; relate.
congneü, pp. of *congnoistre*, v.a., connaître; be acquainted with, know.
convenir, *couvenir*, v.n., convenir; to be fitting or necessary.
coul, s.m., cou; neck.
courant, adj. from *courir:* courant; fleet.
courage, s.m., intention; purpose.
courrouchier, *courroucier*, v.a., courroucer; to anger or become angry.
cousté, *costé*, s.m., côte; side.
couvenir, v. *convenir*.
coux, pl. of *coup* 101.
croistre, v.a., augmenter; increase.
cuider, v.a., penser, croire; think, believe.
cuydance, s.f., opinion mal fondée; unfounded belief.
cy, *chi*, adv., ici; here.
dam, *dom*, s.m., seigneur; master (in contemptuous sense). In works of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries *danz* added to the insult (cf. Stowell, *Titles of respect in Old French*, Baltimore, 1908, p. 111).
dard, s.m., dard; dart. "Cette arme était montée sur un manche de bois de 6 à 7 pieds de long" (Crapelet). Cf. also Keller, *Anglo-Saxon Weapon Names*, Heidelberg, 1905, p. 132.
davancier, s.m., devancier; front.
dé, *detz*, s.m., dé; dice, 343, D368.
dechi, adv., de ce côté; on this side.
decza, adv., de ce côté-là; on that side.
deffaillance, s.f., faute; failure.

defaloir, v.n., manquer; be wanting (cf. *deffaillir;* see Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram.*, §321).
deffier, v.a., déclarer la guerre, défier; declare war, defy.
definer, v.n., prendre fin, terminer; come to an end, die.
demoisel (for *damoisel*), s.m., jeune gentilhomme; young noble.
demourance, s.f., hésitation; reluctance.
demourer, v.n., rester, rester au lieu de; remain, be in the place of.
departir, v.a., séparer; disperse.
deprier, v.a., prier avec instance; pray fervently. (Still used in Anjou; cf. Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 134.)
desconfort, s.m., découragement; discouragement.
desesperance, s.f., désespoir; despair.
desverie, s.f., folie, action mauvaise; madness, evil action.
detz, v. *dé.*
deul, v. *dueil.*
devés (pp. of *desver*), adj., fou; mad. (Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 156, quotes *endevé*, perdre le calme ordinaire.)
devier, v.n., mourir; die.
devis, s.m., plaisir; pleasure.
devision, s.f., division; selection. (For the various significations of this word see Berger, *Die Lehnwörter in d. frz. Spr. ältester Zeit.*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 100.)
devoir, v.a., devoir; ought, owe. Pres. ind. 3, *doibt* 488; imperfect ind. 6, *debvoient* D226; fut. 3, *debvra* D162.
dient, diës, digés, v. *dire.*
dimence, dimenche, s.m., dimanche; Sunday.
dire, v.a., dire; say. Pres. ind. 6, *dient* 66; pres. subj. 5, *diës* 241; *digés* D279.
dit, dix, s.m., parole, petit poème; word, short poem.
doeul, v. *dueil.*
doibt, v. *devoir.*
doint, v. *doner.*
dolent, adj., triste, misérable; sad, unhappy.
dom, v. *dam.*
domage, doumaige, s.m., dommage; harm.
doner, v.a., donner; give. Pres. subj. 3, *doint* D166, *dont* 125.
dormir, v.n., dormir; sleep. With *gesir* in the sense of pâmer, s'évanouir; swoon, faint; sometimes alone in the same sense; (cf. "L'autre sauvage qui *avoit* cependant *dormy* au coup, etc.," quoted by Godefroy).
doumaige, v. *domage.*
droitturier, adj., droit, juste; just.
dueil, doeul, deul, s.m., douleur, deuil; grief, mourning.
durée, s.f., résistance; staying-power. Cf. "Li noble n'auroient point de durée à euls" (Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, II, 17).
efforcer, v.a., se renforcer; reinforce.
effroier, v. refl., avoir peur; become afraid.
election, s.f., choix; choice.
em, prep. and pron. (for *en*).
embler, ambler, v.a., prendre, dérober; take, ravage. (According to Godefroy, the word is still used in Normandy.)

emprise, s.f., esprit entreprenant (Bartsch), violence (Godefroy); rashness.
enchoisir, v.a., élire; select.
encontre, s.f., rencontre, combat; meeting, combat.
engignant, engingnant, part. of *engignier, engingnier*, v.a., tromper; deceive.
enmener, v.a., emmener; lead away. Fut. 6, *enmerront*.
ensuivant, part. of *ensuivre*, v.a., *ensuivant*, suivant; following.
ent, adv., dans cette affaire; in this business.
entencion, s.f., intention, sens; purpose, idea.
entente, s.f., avis, pensée; opinion, thought.
entiers, adj., entier, loyal, irréprochable; loyal, faultless.
entreprinse, s.f., entreprise, conquête; undertaking, conquest.
envier, v.a., désirer, chercher; desire, seek.
encombrier, s.m., malheur; ill fortune.
eré, v. *aré*.
ès: contraction for *en les*.
esbahy, pp. of *esbahir*, v.a., troubler, désoler; trouble, terrify.
escremie, s.f., escrime; skirmish.
esmoulu, pp. of *esmoudre*, v.a., aiguiser; sharpen.
esparpillier, v.a., disperser; scatter.
essoiés, imperative of *essoier* for *essaier*, v.a., tâter, éprouver; strive, struggle. Cf. *effroier* for *effraier* 393.
(*estendre*), v.a., étendre; extend. Pret. 3, *estendy* 354.
ester, v.n., se tenir, être debout; to remain, remain standing.
estor, estour, s.m., assaut, combat; attack, combat.
estoutie, s.f., présomption, témérité; impertinence, daring (from Ger. *stolz;* Flemish, *stout*, cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XIX, 200).
estre, v.n., être.
esturmie, s.f., alarme, tumulte; alarm, tumult.
esvertuer, evertuer, v.a., s'évertuer; strive one's best.
eure, oeure, s.f., heure; hour.———*de complie*, hour of *completorium* (cf. Wetzer-Welte, *op. cit.*, article: "Completorium").
exoine, s.f., excuse legale; legal excuse.
expleter, exploitier, v.n., agir vite, se hâter; act quickly, hasten.
Faescon, s.f., façon, manière; way, manner. (This *ae* is a Breton characteristic; checked, pretonic *a* with attracted *i;* cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)
faesmes, v. *faire*.
faillance, s.f., faute; failure.
failli (pp. of *faillir*), s.m., faux, traître; traitor, renegade.
faindre, v.a., feindre; feign; as refl., hésiter; hesitate. Imper. 2, *faing* 343, D368.
faire, v.a., faire; make, do. Fut. 1, *feré* 105; imperative 1, *faesmes* D68 (cf. Schwan-Behrens, §139, 2, A1).
fauchart, fauchon, fussart, s.m., coutelas; broadsword.
fauldré, fut. 1 of *faillir*, v.a., abandonner; forsake.
feble, flebe, adj., faible; feeble, weak.
felon, s.m. (obl. case of adj. *fel*), traître, scélérat; rascal, villain.
feré, v. *faire*.
ferré, pp. of *ferrer*, v.a., enchaîner; put in irons.

festu, s.m., fêtu; bundle of straw. (For the form of this word, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Zt. f. öst. Gym.* [1891], p. 770.)

fiancier, v.a., certifier; pledge. Pres. ind. 1, *fiant* 72.

fierté, s.f., fierté, hardiment, violence; pride, daring, violence.

flaiel, flayeul, s.m., fléau; flail.

flebe, v. *feble*.

flour, s.f., fleur; flower. (*ou* from *o* free is regular for all western dialects; *o* is the regular orthography up to *ca.* end of the thirteenth century, *ou* from then on; *eu* from Francian appears late in the fourteenth century, cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.)

forment, adv., fortement, beaucoup; powerfully, much.

fort, adj., fort; strong. *Je m'en fais fort*—"je me porte garant," cf. *Farce de Pathelin;* Bartsch, *Chrest.* 96, 128. Godefroy also presents similar idioms, e.g., *se rendre fort, se porter fort.*

fourni (pp. of *fournir*) as adj., fort, grand; strong, great.

fuir, v.a., and n., fuir; flee. Fut. 6, *fouyront* D313.

Gaieres, guaires, adv., guère; scarcely.

genestay, s.m., lieu planté de genêts; field covered with broom.

gesir, v.n., être couché; lie. Ind. pres. 3, *giest* 360; *gist* 371, D396.

geter, v.a., jeter; throw. Imperative 2, *gette* D368; *giete* 343.

gient, s.f., gent; people.

glout, glouton, s.m., glouton, brigand; glutton, brigand.

goberge, gouberge, s.f., forfanterie, moquerie; boast, insult. In the form *gabegie* = ruse, tromperie, this word is still in use in the west. Cf. *Vocabulaire du Berry et des Provinces voisines, recueilla par un amateur du vieux language*, Paris, 1838 and L. Favre, *Glossaire du Poitou*, Niort, 1868. "On prononce *gabgie*" (L. Favre).

goule, s.f., gueule; throat, jaws.

gracier, v.a., remercier; thank.

grandement, adv., grandement, beaucoup; greatly, much.

gresillons, s.m., lit. "*grillons.*" "Attache de fer primitivement en forme de gril, que l'on mettait aux mains des criminels" (*Godefroy*). Cf. Cuvellier, *B. du Guesclin*, l. 13791. "gresillon = grillon," Orain, "Patois d'Ille-et-Vilaine," in *Rev. Linguistique*, XVII, Paris, 1884.

guaires, v. *gaieres*.

guerroier, guerroyer, v.a., faire la guerre à; make war on.

Haïr, v.n., haïr; hate. Fut. 6, *haerront* 201; *hayeront* D240. The stem of the fut. and cond. of *haïr* was regularly monosyllabic.

hasterel, s.m., nuque du cou; back of the neck.

haubergon, hauberjon, s.m., petit haubert; small hauberk. "Cotte de mailles qui couvrait la poitrine jusqu'au defaut des côtes et descendait jusqu'aux genoux; les nobles et les chevaliers avaient seuls le droit de les porter" (Crapelet).

hoir, s.m., héritier; heir.

hazart, s.m., hasard; luck.

Image, ymaige, s.f., image; image.

jouël, s.m., petit jeu; little game. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 526, n. 7. La Borderie's explanation is questionable; from *lez* 438, we may conclude

that the *martel* is no longer the subject referred to. For *jouël* in the sense we indicate, cf. Godefroy, who quotes a long passage from Froissart.

journée, s.f., journée; day. *Prendre journée* = préférer un jour; allot a day; cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, VIII, 210, where the term is similarly used.

jouvencel, jovencel, s.m., jouvenceau; youth.

Labourer, v.a., cultiver; cultivate.

letare Jherusalem, i.e., the fourth Sunday of Lent, cf. Wetzer-Welte, *s.v.*

lié, adj., gai, joyeux; gay, happy.

losengier, s.m., trompeur, calomniateur; deceiver, falsifyer.

lourdie, s.f., bêtise; stupidity.

lu, ly, pers. pron., obl. case of il (for *lui*). Cf. Introduction, V, i, 21.

Maill, s.m., maillet; mace.

maindre, comp. of *moins.*, moindre; less.

maine, v. *mener.*

maistrie, mestrie, s.f., puissance; power.

maitent, pres. sub. 6 of *metre.*

mander, v.a., demander; ask.

marry, adj., affligé; distressed.

maugré, maulgré, prep., malgré; in spite of.

mectes, pres. ind. 5 of *metre.*

meina, v. *mener.*

membré, part. adj. from *membrer*, v.a., prudent; wise.

mener, v.a., mener; lead. Pres. ind. 3, *maine* 42, D40; pret. 3, *meina* D95.

menestrier, s.m., minstrel. *Haulx menestriers* (D5) are those who sing of the deeds of heroes as distinguished from the minstrels who treat less dignified themes.

menu, adj., menu, petit; small, of lower degree.

merchier, v.a., remercier; thank.

merchier, s.m., marchand; merchant, tradesman. (The humble origin of at least one of Brambro's party [Knolles, cf. De Courcy, p. 61] is known.)

meshuy, adv., désormais; henceforth (cf. *Vocabulaire du Berry*, p. 29.)

mesprendre, v.refl., se tromper; deceive oneself.

mestier, s.m., service, office; position, office. *Avoir mestier*, 82, D128, avoir besoin de, convenir bon.

mestrie, v. *maistrie.*

moncel, s.m., amas, tas; closely massed group.

mot, s.m., espèce de poème, "petit poème descriptif" (*Godefroy* supp.).

musart, s.m., fou, sot, dupe; fool, dupe.

my, adj., demi; half. *en my*, au milieu de; in the midst of.

Naistre, v.n., naître; to be born. Pret. 3, *naquist* D366; *nasqui* 514; *nacquist* D490.

noiant, nyant, rien; nothing. Cuvelier, *B. du Gues.*, 1353 has *neënt;* the *Livre, neänt* 1544, 2005, 2092, etc.; *nyant* 2245; *noyant* 3183; in all cases 2 syl. The word is always 2 syl. in Wace and Benoit, cf. Suchier, *Voy. Ton.*, p. 140.

O, prep., avec; with. *Apud* regularly gives *o* in N.W. dialects and occasionally *ou* in Berry (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 78). It remains still in the patois of

Haute-Maine, cf. *Vocabulaire des mots usités dans le Haute-Maine*, C.R. de M., Le Mans, 1889, *s.v.*

oblacion, s.f., offrande; vow.

ochire, v.a., tuer; kill. Fut. 1, *ochiray* 355.

octrier, v. *ottrier*.

oeure, v. *eure*.

oïez, v. *oïr*.

onques, *onquez*, adv., jamais; never.

ordenance, s.f., disposition, ordre; assignment, order.

ordination, s.f., ordonnance; order. *Par ordination* 316, en ordre; in order, one after another.

orguel, *ourgouil*, s.m., orgueil; pride.

orible, adj., horrible.

orphanité (variants *orphenté*, *orphanté*), s.f., abandon, douleur; distress.

orrés, v. *oïr*.

orrois, v. *oïr*.

ottrier, *octrier*, v.a., accorder, permettre; grant, permit.

ou=el=en le.

oïr, *ouyr*, v.a., entendre; hear. Imperative 5, *oïez* D293; fut. 5, *orrés* D464; *orrois* 256.

ourgouil, v. *orguel*.

Panoncel, *pennoncel*, a.m., petit enseigne; pennant.

paour, s.f., peur; fear.

paouvre, *povre*, adj., pauvre; poor.

paramer, *paraymer*, v.a., aimer beaucoup; love greatly.

pardurable, adj., éternel; eternal.

pautonnier, s.m., gueux, vagabond, "homme prêt à tout faire" (*Godefroy*); rogue, vagabond.

pener, v.a., tourmenter; torture.

pennoncel, v. *panoncel*.

per, adj., and s., égal; equal.

pesant, adj., lourd; heavy.

petticion, s.f., petition; petition.

pié, s.m., pied; foot. *Ne . . . . pié* 63, 215 D64=ne . . . . pas, ne . . . . personne; not, none.

piis, adv., pis; worse. *Le piis;* le pire; the worse. Cf. note to B295.

plenier, adj., entier, grand; full, great.

planté, s.f., abondance; plenty.

plates, s.f.—"Gantelets de lames de fer" (Crapelet); "plaques de metal flexibles recouvrant le corps" (Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, V, 99).

poesté, *posté*, s.f., pouvoir, puissance; force, power.

pourroy, fut. 1 of *pouvoir*.

poursembler, v.n., resembler à; resemble.

pouvreté, *povreté*, s.f., privation; privation.

povre, v. *paouvre*.

prendre, v.a., prendre; take. Pret. 6, *prinrent* 191; *prindrent* D143; cond. l, *prandroie* D281; *prendroye* 243; pp., *prins* D221.

present, s.m., cadeau, don; gift 336.

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present, adj., *à present* 134, D35, en presence, assistant; *en present* 238, D276, D375, present.
prinrent, v. *prendre*.
prins, v. *prendre*.
proudoms, s.m., prud'homme; noble and distinguished man.
Quer, conj., car; for.
querre, v.a., chercher; seek. Pres. ind. l, *quier* D94.
Radement, adv., fortement; vigorously, 309. With this word must be considered *roidement*, the reading of D; *radement*=rapida+mente: roidement=rigida+mente. However, we may have to do here with the same word.
ranchon, ransczon, s.f., rachat, rançon; ransom.
repreuchier, reproucher, v.a., reprocher; reproach.
requerre, v.a., demander qqch. à qqn.; ask somebody for something. Pres. ind. 1, *requier* 195; *requiers* D234; 3, *requiert* 324; pret. 3, *requist* D349.
roiaulme, s.m., royaume; kingdom.
roidement, adv., fortement; vigorously (cf. *radement*).
romants, roumant, s.m., histoire; tale.
rosoyer, v.a., tomber comme la rosée; fall like dew.
roumander, v.n., écrire ou parler en français; compose in the vernacular. (I have not been able to find this word elsewhere.) The sense seems plain.
roumant, v. *romants*.
Sabmedy, semmedy, s.m., samedi; Saturday.
saichés, saichiés, v. *savoir*.
saintismes, santismes, adj., in superlative, très saint; most holy.
sapience, s.f., sagesse; wisdom.
savoir, v.a., savoir; know. Pres. ind. 1, *sçay* D188; 3, *soit* 506; 5, *saichés* D392; *saichiés* 367; pret. 3, *sust* 153.
segneur, s.m., seigneur; lord.
segneurie, s.f., puissance, domaine; seignory, domain.
seignour, v. *segneur*.
semmedy, v. *sabmedy*.
sené, adj., sensé; wise.
sentence, centence, s.f., sentence, judgment; opinion, judgment.
sep, v. *chesp*.
serementer, v.a., "prendre la parole aux prisonniers" (Crapelet); parole.
seurté, s.f., sureté; surety.
sexante, soixante, adj., soixante; sixty. (Cf. *Livre*, 659, also *saixante* 2488 where *ai*=*e*.
sextier, s.m., sétier.
siecle, s.m., monde, vie; world, life.
siement, from *semer*, v.a., semer; sow. Pres. ind. 6.
soeff, s.f., soif; thirst. (*oe*=*oi* is also in the *Livre*, e.g., *Genevoez: Franczois* 2111–2112).
soit, v. *savoir*.
soudoiant, s.m., traître; traitor.
soudoier, souldoyer, s.m., homme soldé; hireling.
sourenvier, v.a., "j'enchérirai sur toi, je te previendrai" (Crapelet). *sur* give

intensive force, e.g., *surmener*. Cf. also *surabonder, surembrasser, surembêté* of Flaubert quoted by Nyrop, *op. cit.*, III, 498.

soutiff, adj., fin; shrewd. The form *soutif* is common in Deschamps, cf. *Oeuvres*, ed. SATF., X, 118. Note also *Rom. de. Thèbes*, ed. SATF., p. xci.

sust, v. *savoir*.

Tailler, v.a., couper; cut.

tappichier, v.a., for *tappissier*. Pp. as substantive, *tappichiez* 502. This is the Picard form of *tappischier*, cf. MSS St. Omer, 1499, quoted by Godefroy.

targier, v.n., and refl., tarder; delay.

targison, s.f., sans tarder; without delay. (Cf. note to *arrestezon*.)

tart, adj., tard; late. *avoir tart* 147, D188, avoir besoin.

tiel, adj., tel; such (D447, cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

trebucher, trebuschier, v.a., renverser, culbuter; overthrow.

tressuër, v.n., être couvert de sueur; be covered with sweat.

treuvent, pres. ind. 6 of *trouver*.

trichierre, s.m., traître; traitor.

tunicles, s.f., cotte d'armes. "Sorte de bliaut à l'usage des hommes seulement" (*Godefroy*). Cf. Cuvelier, *B. du Gues.*, l. 21570.

Vantance, s.f., vantardise; boasting.

veillart, vilart, s.m., 163, D201, paysan (?); cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

veoir, v.a., voir, see. pp. *veü* 352.

veulent, v. *voloir*.

vieult, v. *voloir*.

vieulté, vilté, s.f., mépris, méchanceté; scorn, contempt.

vilart, v. *veillart*.

villein, s.m., paysan; peasant; as adj., bas, vilain; low, common.

vilté, v. *vieulté*.

vis, s.m., figure, visage; face, countenance.

vo, atonic possessive for *vostre*.

volenté, voulanté, voulunté, s.f., volonté; will.

voloir, v.a., vouloir; wish. Pres. ind. 1, *vueil* 10, D10; *wueil* 17; 3, *vieult* D10; 6, *veulent;* pres. subj. 3, *veuille* D91; *wueille* 16.

voulanté, voulunté, v. *volenté*.

vray, vroy, adj., vrai; true. As subst. 10.

vueil, v. *voloir*.

Wueil, wueille, v. *voloir*.

Yceulx, pron. dem., obl. plur., D495.

ymaige, v. *image*.

ysgnel, adj., rapide, vif, prompt; quick, prompt, ready.

HENRY RAYMOND BRUSH

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